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SHAKESPEARE PROBLEMS

By A. W. POLLARD & J. DOVER WILSON

I

SHAKESPEARE'S FIGHT WITH THE PIRATES

AND

II

SHAKESPEARE'S HAND IN SIR THOMAS MORE

SHAKESPEARE'S FIGHT WITH THE PIRATES AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSMISSION OF HIS TEXT

BY

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SANDARS READER IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

1915

SECOND EDITION, REVISED
WITH AN INTRODUCTION

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1920

REPRINTED
1967

Published by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press
Bentley House, 200 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1
American Branch: 32 East 57th Street,
New York, N.Y. 10022

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Cambridge University Press Library Editions are reissues of out-of-print standard works from the Cambridge catalogue. The texts are unrevised and, apart from minor corrections, reproduce the latest published edition.

First issued in this edition 1920
Reprinted 1967

First printed in Great Britain
at the University Printing House, Cambridge
Reprinted in the United States of America
Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 20–8599

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INTRODUCTION

THE lectures here reprinted were delivered in November, 1915, in the University of Cambridge, under the terms of the Sandars Readership in Bibliography. They were printed in successive numbers of *The Library* in 1916, and published in book-form the following year. Thanks largely to a friendly controversy which followed a generous review in the *Literary Supplement* of *The Times*, the small first edition was speedily exhausted, and the book has been for some time out of print. That a new edition of it is offered here as the first volume of the series of monographs on *Shakespeare Problems* projected by Mr Dover Wilson and myself is due partly to my desire that the lectures should reappear under the auspices of the Press of the University which honoured me with the invitation to deliver them, partly to their forming the starting point from which most of the Problems with which this series is concerned will be approached. The central idea of the lectures is that the early editions upon which a text of Shakespeare's plays must be built, are a good deal closer to the original manuscripts from his pen than most of the text-builders have allowed. In the subsequent volumes of this series Mr Dover Wilson and I hope to show that because the text-builders have underrated their sources they have neglected many of the clues which these offer, and that the clues lead to very interesting results, also that the futility of many of the 'conjectural emendations' which overload the

Variorum editions is amply accounted for by the neglect of their venturesome authors to take any account of the character of the hand in which the plays were written. In many respects, if we are to do better, we must make a fresh start.

Some apology is perhaps needed for one who has already written, or helped in writing, four books on Shakespeare bibliography, now taking part in planning a new series of booklets on the same subject. The best plea in mitigation that can be offered is that one bit of work has led to another, often with the help of an idea borrowed from a friend, and that in a research so largely new it is only by taking one step at a time that any sure progress can be made. One or two points have, I hope, been definitely cleared up and the elucidation of these has revealed pathways of advance which previously could hardly have been distinguished.

The first of these points is as to the editions of *The Merchant of Venice*, Printed by J. Roberts, 1600; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Printed by Iames Roberts, 1600; *King Lear*, Printed for Nathaniel Butter, 1608; and *Henry V*, Printed by T. P., 1608. As long as these imprints and dates were accepted as correct, it was impossible to arrive at any sound conception of the Shakespeare Quartos as a class, or of the part played by James Roberts in their publication. Accident having brought under my notice, at an interval of three or four years, first a volume belonging to Edward Gwynn (a seventeenth century collector) and then, in 1906, one owned by Mr Hussey, each containing these four plays with six others[1]

[1] *The Whole Contention between the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and York*, Printed for T. P., n.d., in two parts, counting

(three of them dated 1619) by or attributed to Shakespeare, I was led to look for traces of other volumes made up in the same way, and finding clear proof that Garrick and Capell[1] had both owned such volumes leapt at the conclusion that in 1619 advantage was taken of the issue of reprints of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Pericles* and the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, to bind up with them the unsold stock of earlier editions. The theory was set forth in an article contributed to *The Academy* (2nd June, 1906) entitled *Shakespeare in the Remainder Market*. Two years later, I had the pleasure of printing in *The Library* (2nd Series, vol. IX. pp. 113-131) an article by Dr W. W. Greg, *On Certain False Dates in Shakespearian Quartos*, which drew attention to the "curious similarity of style in the various titlepages" of the plays in the volume of 1619 which I had supposed to have been made up of new editions and remainders, to the use in them of large numerals not elsewhere found before 1610, and of devices followed by Roberts' imprint which Roberts is not known to have used, also (and chiefly) to the evidence offered by the watermarks that "the whole volume is printed on one mixed stock of paper," which "could not have been the case if the individual plays had been printed

as two: *Pericles*, *Prince of Tyre*, Printed for T. P., 1619; *The first part of the Life of Sir John Old-castle*, Printed for T. P., 1600; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Printed for Arthur Johnson, 1619; *A Yorkshire Tragedie*, Printed for T. P., 1619.

[1] Later research suggests that the copies of the ten plays owned by Dr Farmer, the Duke of Roxburghe, Thomas Jefferson and T. P. Barton, had originally belonged to similar volumes. See *A Census of Shakespeare Quartos*, by H.C. Bartlett and A. W. Pollard, Yale University Press, 1916, Introduction, pp. xxvii *sqq*.

at different dates extending over a period of twenty years." Dr Greg quite rightly deduced from this evidence that all the editions in the 'Gwynn' volume were printed together in 1619. He thus at a blow rid literary criticism and bibliography of the problems falsely raised by what had been taken to be duplicate editions of those of *The Merchant of Venice* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, rightly dated 1600, and of *King Lear*, rightly dated 1608.

Dr Greg's contention won considerable acceptance, but the argument from non-occurrence used in the case of the large numerals and the devices is necessarily weak, while the proof (for such it was) from watermarks embedded in the backs of small quartos often tightly bound was not easily checked. The following year Mr William Jaggard helped, by showing in *The Library* (2nd Series, vol. IX. pp. 208–11) that his ancestor, both before and after 1619, was using papers with watermarks similar to those found in the plays in the Gwynn volume. In chapter IV. of my *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (written as an introduction to Messrs Methuen's excellent series of facsimiles of the four Shakespeare Folios) I added arguments from the text-type used in *The Merchant of Venice* and other plays, from the spelling and other points. There was growing assent, but in *The Library* for January, 1910 (3rd Series, vol. I. pp. 36–45) in an article *On the Supposed False Dates in certain Shakespeare Quartos*, Mr Alfred Huth defended my original hypothesis of a 'remainder volume' as against Dr Greg's of false dates with equal courtesy and skill, and though I bowled my hardest against him I am not sure that any umpire, still less the average bookman, would have granted that I bowled

him out. Before the year closed, however, Mr William Neidig, an instructor in the University of Wisconsin, in two articles in American reviews[1] offered a physical proof which could not be gainsaid. Having first obtained exact photographic facsimiles of all the title-pages in question (photographing a millimetre rule along with each so as to enable its accuracy to be tested),

"He then plotted out each title-page into little squares, and by this means convinced himself that the words 'Written by W. Shakespeare,' the 'Heb Ddieu, Heb Ddim' device, and the word 'Printed' in the title-page of 'Pericles' dated 1619, and of the 'Merchant of Venice' dated 1600, come in precisely the same places, and demonstrated this beyond possibility of cavil by a composite photograph in which the 'Merchant of Venice' is superimposed on 'Pericles,' and the words in question come out quite sharply, and the device with only the very slightest blur, showing that the block may have been shifted a fraction of a millimetre. The occurrence in both title-pages of an identical flaw of one kind in the W of 'Written' and of another kind in the W of Shakespeare's initial, completes the proof that this portion of the title-page of 'Pericles' had been used again in the title-page of the 'Merchant of Venice' and thus offered a pretty demonstration of the impossibility of their having been separated by an interval of nineteen years. Mr Neidig thinks that the trouble-saving printer 'lifted off the lower portion' of one title-page for use in another. It

[1] *Modern Philology*, October, 1910 (pp. 1–19, 'The Shakespeare Quartos of 1619'), and *The Century Magazine*, October, 1910 (pp. 912–919, 'False Dates on Shakespeare Quartos').

seems to me more probable that he picked out all the rest of the contents of the forme, rather than risked dropping out letters by transferring the old matter to a new one; but that the same type-letters in the same setting-up were used in the 'Yorkshire Tragedy' of 1619, 'Pericles' of 1619, 'Merchant of Venice' of 1600, and 'Merry Wives' of 1619, he has proved up to the hilt; and I think that henceforth any bookseller who sells the '1600' 'Merchant of Venice' as printed in that year, will be liable to have it returned[1]."

Possibly because of the hint in this last paragraph, the editions in question are now, I believe, always sold with a mention of the spuriousness of their dates, so that at least this one problem may be considered definitely settled. To the literary student the most important result is the disappearance of all theories as to the true and false editions bearing the same dates being printed from different manuscripts, and also of the contention, which had been generally accepted, that the falsely dated *Merchant of Venice* was the true

[1] From my review of Mr Neidig's articles in *The Library* (3rd Series, vol. II. pp. 101–107) for January, 1911. In the same review I mentioned a curious fact, to which my attention had first been called by Mr E. H. Dring, viz. that in copies of the falsely-dated issues the dates have sometimes been torn away in a manner which points to deliberate intent. This suggests that when Laurence Heyes reasserted his claim to his father's copyright at Stationers' Hall, on 8th July, 1619, the false dates, having been adjudged spurious, were mutilated by way of penalty, enforced either by the Company or by private agreement. While the volume may originally have been planned honestly, there seems little room for doubt that before it was completed a deliberate attempt had been made to 'wangle' the copyrights of the *Merchant of Venice* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

'first edition.' To bibliographers, on the other hand, the chief gain was the solution of the difficulties as to Roberts' use of his types and the reversal of the current view of him as the most daring of the pirates who attacked the property of the players. It became possible to understand his entries in the Stationers' Register as 'staying' entries, made in the interests of the actors to render piracy more difficult, a rôle which accorded much better with his position as holder of a privilege for printing all play-bills than the predatory career usually assigned to him.

Read by this new light on Roberts' career, the entries in the Stationers' Register become intelligible and there was the less reason to believe that the Company had grossly abused the powers entrusted to it to the detriment of authors. In writing my *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* in 1909, I gave the Stationers credit for the moderate degree of honesty which succeeds in maintaining itself when times are not too hard, and the players for the moderate power of self-defence which, when one horse has been stolen from a stable in which others are still kept, sets about getting a new lock for the stable-door. As I then wrote:

"The theory that anyone could steal and print an Elizabethan play and obtain copyright in it by paying sixpence to the Stationers' Company, to the exclusion of the author and his assigns, does not conflict with the official functions either of the Censors of the Press or of the Stationers' Company. Neither the one nor the other were legally bound to show any consideration to authors. What the theory, when extended to cover not an isolated instance but a whole series of depredations, conflicts with, is common

sense and the English character. It is understood that in this happy land if various people did all the things they are legally entitled to do, the Constitution would be in a sad plight. But these mysterious possibilities remain unfulfilled, and while they are unfulfilled, no one troubles to obtain paper guarantees against them, with the result that future historians will perhaps gravely argue that of course they happened."

Historians of the drama had argued with great gravity that all the publishers of Shakespeare's plays were thieves, and that the Stationers' Company was always on the side of the thief. The main work of my *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* was the demonstration that the more charitable view (that while some publishers were thieves others were honest, and that the Stationers' Company, as a body, when called on to lend its help to one side or the other, at least occasionally is found helping the right man) explains alike the reference to 'stolne and surreptitious copies' in the Address to the Reader in the First Folio and the entries in the Register much more successfully than the pessimism which had become traditional with the writers on Shakespeare's text. When the available data were interpreted on these lines the early quartos fell into two groups: (i) of four bad texts to which alone the epithets 'stolne and surreptitious' properly applied, viz. *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597, *Henry V*, 1600, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1602, and *Hamlet*, 1603, all entered irregularly on the Stationers' Register or not at all, with *Pericles*, 1609, as a later instance of a similar kind; and (ii) of fourteen (positively or comparatively) good texts, twelve of which were regularly entered on the Register, while

of the other two one certainly (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1599) and the other probably (*Loves Labors Lost*) were printed to take the place of copies rightly called 'stolne and surreptitious.' The chapters devoted to this topic in the *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* book were written controversially and on some minor points did not make the best of their case. In the first and second of these Sandars Lectures, the argument is put as well as I can put it, and it has not yet been challenged.

Between the writing of the *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* of 1909 and the Sandars Lectures of 1915, a little book was published, Mr Percy Simpson's *Shakespearian Punctuation* (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1911, pp. 107, price 5*s*.), which was a real inspiration to me, none the less so because I put my own interpretation on some of the facts which I owed to Mr Simpson. Mr Simpson's main thesis was that the punctuation which is usually regarded as the weakest point in the printing of the Folio of 1623, is "on the whole sound and reasonable." He asked "was there, or was there not, a system of punctuation which old printers used," and proved conclusively that there was such a system and that numerous pointings in the First Folio which ignore our modern (not very successful) rules for applying a logically appropriate pointing to every grammatical construction, when interpreted on the lines of the older system are strikingly justified. Something is said of Mr Simpson's book in the fourth of these lectures, but before this was delivered I had already written more fully on the subject in the introduction to *A New Shakespeare Quarto, the Tragedy of King Richard II, printed for the third time by Valentine Simmes in*

1598[1], in which I had more space at my disposal. To have enlarged what I wrote for my lecture would have destroyed its balance, and I may therefore be pardoned for quoting a few paragraphs from my *Richard II* introduction to illustrate the importance of the new light I owed to Mr Simpson in dealing with the Quartos, with which his own little book was not concerned.

Mr Simpson's two points as regards the old punctuation were (i) that "the earlier system was mainly rhythmical" rather than logical, and (ii) that whereas "modern punctuation is uniform; the old punctuation was quite the reverse," and that this 'flexible' system of punctuation enabled poets to "express subtle differences of tone." Commenting on this, I wrote:

"In plays, wherever punctuation becomes important, it might perhaps best be called 'dramatic.' To get at its underlying principle we may go back to the lessons of the schoolroom in which I learnt that, when a comma stopped the way, I must pause while I could count one; when a semicolon, while I could count two; when a colon, three; when a full-stop, four. Educational formulas are long-lived, and it is possible that this simple rule of thumb, which made each stop simply and solely a measure of time, came down from Elizabethan days. It is certainly quite inapplicable to modern punctuation. Anyone who read aloud and marked his stops like this would risk having things thrown at him. In reading aloud we ignore many of the stops with which

[1] Reproduced in facsimile from the unique copy in the library of William Augustus White. With an introduction by Alfred W. Pollard. Bernard Quaritch, 1916.

grammarians have taught printers to pepper our pages. The stops may sometimes save us from mistaking the sense, but they give hardly any clue as to how a given passage should be 'taken,' and it is precisely this which the punctuation of the First Folio attempted to do—and, at least occasionally, did.

"The strength of Mr Simpson's treatise lies in his examples, and the example which effected my conversion was a line and a half from *King Henry V* (V. i. 49 *sq.*) spoken by Pistol as, in terror of Fluellen's cudgel, he begins to eat the leek. In the Folio it is printed, quite shamelessly:

> By this Leeke, I will most horribly reuenge I eate
> and eate I sweare.

In the Globe Shakespeare there is a colon after 'reuenge' and a comma after the second 'eate'; but the Folio shows us Fluellen flourishing his cudgel, and how should Pistol stop while he might count three after 'reuenge,' or even one after 'eate,' when the slightest pause might bring the cudgel on his head? The absence of stops here can hardly be called rhythmical, but it is certainly dramatic, and it gives what is practically a stage direction, which is totally lacking in the modern rendering.

"While I was pondering this section chance brought to me, at second hand[1], a delightful piece of Shakespearian punctuation of an opposite kind, in Mr Anstey's *Voces Populi*. A Hyde Park orator is

[1] In a quotation in the Rev. Cyril A. Alington's *A Schoolmaster's Apology* (Longmans, 1914).

giving his views on ministerial shortcomings, and by printing his observations as:

> The present Government Har. The most Abandoned! The most Degraded! The most Cowardly! The most Debased! The most Ber-lud-thirsty! Set. Of Sneakin' Ruffians. That hever disgraced the Title. Of so-called Yumanity

Mr Anstey not only tells us exactly what his orator said, but exactly how he said it. Here, in fact, we have the First Folio punctuation in a nut-shell, emphasis-capitals and all."

Mr Simpson had concerned himself only with the punctuation of the Folio. In my introduction to the facsimile of the newly identified quarto of *Richard II* I was trying to follow the transmission of the text of one of the 'good' Shakespeare Quartos from the time when the ink first dried on Shakespeare's manuscript of it to the publication of the first Quarto in 1597 and again on from that till the pages on which it is printed in the First Folio were finally printed off. I could not help believing that the punctuation, or lack of punctuation, in Pistol's line and a half represented exactly how that line and a half was 'taken' when *Henry V* was performed at the Globe, and I did not doubt that it also represented exactly how the line and a half was written in Shakespeare's original manuscript. Were there any passages in the first quarto of *Richard II* for which as much as this could be claimed?

In writing this last sentence, I have unconsciously allowed experience to modify my question. There was a brief excited moment during which it took the larger form, 'Was the first Quarto of *Richard II* punctuated throughout like this'? To that an honest editor can

only return one answer: 'In any positive sense it was *not*.' Negatively and defectively we may persuade ourselves that its light, inadequate punctuation corresponds roughly to what Shakespeare set down, but for pages at a time there is nothing on which we can put our finger and say 'that punctuation must be Shakespeare's.' On the other hand, as regards the set speeches, and now and again elsewhere, the punctuation is distinctly dramatic and entitles us to believe that Shakespeare punctuated these portions of his manuscript with some care and that the Quarto reproduces this punctuation with very much the same substantial fidelity that it reproduces the words of the text.

"In the Cambridge edition, lines I. i. 92–100 are thus printed:

> Besides I say and will in battle prove,
> Or here or elsewhere to the furthest verge
> That ever was survey'd by English eye,
> That all the treasons for these eighteen years
> Complotted and contrived in this land
> Fetch from false Mowbray their first head and spring.
> Further I say, and further will maintain
> Upon his bad life to make all this good,
> That he did plot the Duke of Gloucester's death...

Plump at the end of l. 96, separating 'treasons' from its verb, the Quarto inserts a colon, and the line "Fetch from false Mowbray their first head and spring" comes rushing out after the pause with doubled effect. And at the end of this line, shade of Lindley Murray! there is no full stop—only a comma; for Bolingbroke will not give Mowbray a chance to interrupt him, but dashes on with his second accusation, with only an imperceptible pause. In the earlier lines, on the other hand, when he is

preparing the way for his rush, Bolingbroke's measured tones are marked by two stops which the Cambridge editors omit, a comma after 'say' in l. 92, and another after 'here' in the next line. Grammatically a comma after 'here' should entail another after 'elsewhere,' but dramatic punctuation sets no store on pairing its commas and usually omits either one or the other."

That the punctuation in this passage is no mere accident to which a fanciful interpretation has been assigned, may be shown by quoting another set speech from the same source. As a rule Richard is exhibited in the Quarto as a rapid speaker, seldom needing a heavier stop than a comma, and the contrast to his usual style which we find in his despondent speech, III. iii. 142–159, when he finds himself obliged to speak Bolingbroke fair is marked in the first Quarto by a punctuation obviously deliberate. In this text it reads:

What muſt the King do now? muſt he ſubmit?
The King ſhall do it: muſt he be depoſde?
The king ſhall be contented: muſt he looſe
The name of King? a Gods name let it go:
Ile giue my iewels for a ſet of Beades:
My gorgeous pallace for a hermitage:
My gay apparel for an almeſmans gowne:
My figurde goblets for a diſh of wood:
My ſcepter for a Palmers walking ſtaffe:
My ſubiects for a paire of carued Saintes,
And my large kingdome for a little graue,
A little little graue, an obſcure graue,
Or Ile be buried in the Kings hie way,
Some way of common trade, where ſubiects feete
May hourely trample on their ſoueraignes head;
For on my heart they treade now whilſt I liue:
And buried once, why not vpon my head?

Here the Cambridge editors check the passion of the cry 'a God's name let it go' by a comma after 'name'; substitute commas for colons at the end of the next five lines, and on the other hand put a semicolon after 'an obscure graue' instead of a comma and again another semicolon instead of a colon after 'liue.' By these changes in the time in which the several sections of the speech are taken the whole passage is reduced, as far as the words allow, to a dull monotony. The punctuation of the first Quarto, on the other hand, accents the despondent slowness of the beginning, the swiftness of the cry of impatience and the pauses between the meditative lines in which Richard soothes himself with his fancies. Then at the idea of death it shows him swept away by a flood of self-pity, which will bear no stops heavier than commas till it slows down for the final reproach, and (after a long pause) the sombre sarcasm which succeeds it. No printer could have invented this exquisitely varied punctuation. Is there any room for doubt that it gives the lines as Shakespeare trained his fellows to deliver them? Is there any greater room for doubt that it gives us the lines as Shakespeare punctuated them himself as he wrote them down while he heard the accents in which Richard, as he conceived him, was to speak them? These colons and commas take us straight into the room in which *Richard II* was written and we look over Shakespeare's shoulder as he penned it.

When I wrote my *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, I wrote as a bibliographer and a lover of logical economy impatient of hypotheses disproportionately large compared with the facts they were framed to explain, also as an optimist impatient of the pessimism

which represents human nature as worse than it is. For a quarter of a century my work had brought me into touch with printers and publishers and editors, and I stood up for my friends. I satisfied myself that most of the Quartos were not 'stolne and surreptitious,' that the Folio editors made no use of the four that were, and that in other respects they did fairly well. I owe it to Mr Simpson's little book and to Mr W. A. White who exhorted me to put all I could into the introduction to the facsimile of his newly-found Quarto[1] that I woke up at last to the fact that I was playing for much higher stakes than I had in the least realized, that here was evidence which concerned not merely the good name of Roberts or Heminge and Condell, or Blount, but the whole problem of the transmission of Shakespeare's text, with possibilities of finding ourselves in an actual contact with him of which I had previously not allowed myself to dream. My hopes rose higher when in gathering materials for my third Sandars lecture I found myself able to show (1) that many of Shakespeare's plays were printed from prompt copies and (2) that some plays by other writers which have come down to us in manuscript are autographs to which the prompter had added his notes. There was room, as I ought to have emphasized, for a copyist of almost photographic fidelity between the prompt copy and the printed texts, but a copyist making a copy for printing would surely have edited away the more obvious prompter's notes. In any case the link I sought to establish holds fast to this extent that no one who knows the evidence can say it is impossible, or

[1] Also to Miss Henrietta Bartlett who generously waived in my favour her claim as the discoverer to edit it herself.

even very improbable, that some of the copy used in printing both the good Quartos and the Folios was actually in Shakespeare's autograph. If we honestly admit this possibility it must alter our whole attitude to the extant texts.

Shakespeare died in 1616, and out of the commemoration, maimed by the occurrence of the tercentenary in the middle of the Great War, came Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's book on *Shakespeare's Handwriting* (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1916) which showed by a masterly analysis that Shakespeare must have written a hand of the same style as that found in the three pages of the extant manuscript of the play of *Sir Thomas More* (British Museum Harleian MS. 7368) in which More persuades the May-day rioters to submission. I believe myself that my old Chief's full claim that those three pages are the work of Shakespeare and written by him with his own hand is well founded and will ultimately be accepted by all competent judges, as it has been already by the few who are familiar with the manuscript. It is proposed that one of the volumes of our Shakespeare Problems series should deal with this question. But splendid as is the hope of finding ourselves in acknowledged possession of three pages in Shakespeare's autograph, the gain of having secured the guidance of a great expert in translating for us the six authentic signatures (written, one of them with obvious impatience, two with the uncertainty as to what they ought to do which comes over laymen when they have to sign important documents in the presence of a lawyer, and three in sickness) into the hand in which the plays were written in the abounding vitality of the prime of life is

potentially even greater. We now know at least approximately the rules to which the emendation of Shakespeare must conform if it is to be anything better than a game of literary guess-work. Ninety-nine per cent. of the shots which overcrowd the notes of the Variorum editions are shown to be altogether off the target, and the way is prepared for a saner class of emendations, wholesomely limited by the condition that in an Elizabethan English hand they must look sufficiently like what appears in the printed texts for it to be conceivable that a scribe or printer should have mistaken the one for the other.

This willing submission to limitations recognized as the rules of what, being Englishmen, we shall probably call 'the game,' has a very important counterpart and also applies to other editings besides those which involve the substitution of one or more words for others. As an example of its extension we may take the line-arrangements, which should not lightly be altered unless we can see how and why the scribe or printer went wrong. Its counterpart lies in the necessity of refusing to be satisfied with merely setting right an obvious error until we have discovered what lies behind it. Faced with the double disarrangement of the lines in Theseus' speech in the *Midsummer Night's Dream* (V. i. 1–20) here printed from Fisher's Quarto of 1600, previous critics of Shakespeare's text had contented themselves with the easy task of rearranging as four the first three italicized lines in the passage as here printed, and the five and a quarter as six, in accordance with the slanting strokes here inserted:

Hip. Tis strange, my Theseus, that these louers speake of.
The. More straunge then true. I neuer may beleeue

These antique fables, nor these Fairy toyes.
Louers, and mad men haue such seething braines,
Such shaping phantasies, that apprehend / more,
Then coole reason euer comprehends. / The lunatick
The louer, and the Poet / are of imagination all compact. /
One sees more deuils, then vast hell can holde:
That is the mad man. The louer, all as frantick,
Sees Helens beauty in a brow of Ægypt.
The Poets eye, in a fine frenzy, rolling, / doth glance
From heauen to earth, from earth to heauen. / And as
Imagination bodies forth / the formes of things
Vnknowne: the Poets penne / turnes them to shapes,
And giues to ayery nothing, / a locall habitation,
And a name. / Such trickes hath strong imagination,
That if it would but apprehend some ioy,
It comprehends some bringer of that ioy.
Or in the night, imagining some feare,
How easie is a bush suppos'd a Beare?

Mr Dover Wilson was not so easily contented. He could not believe that if the copy which the scribe or the printer had before him had arranged the lines correctly it would not have been faithfully followed. Nor did he rush at the explanation, too readily offered in such cases, that the printer had no copy before him, but was setting up his lines at the dictation of some extraordinarily leisured person who read out the text at the rate of a line a minute, the quickest possible rate at which it could be set in type. He noticed that the lines here printed in roman letter are concerned only with lovers and madmen; those in italic not only with lunatics and lovers, but also with 'the poet,' and so reached the conclusion that the italicized lines were an afterthought, written, in such space as could be found, on the margin, and transferred thence to the text by a scribe or printer who had no instinct for

dividing them rightly. Thus we can look over Shakespeare's shoulder, not only when he is in the first heat of inspiration, but also when he is revising, though in truth in this case he seems to have been better inspired in his second thoughts than in his first. Such a nugget is not likely to be found very often, but to have lighted on even one of this size and quality must hearten any literary goldminer to seek for others.

This series has been projected in the belief that what remains to be done is far more important than the little which has so far been accomplished. It is possible to distinguish already at least four different varieties of Shakespeare texts, each with its own special problems:

(i) the four piracies, *Romeo and Juliet* (1597), *Henry V* (1600), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602), *Hamlet* (1603), besides that of *Pericles* (1609) about which, to be frank, we at present have made no special research;

(ii) the texts of Shakespeare's journeyman's days, notably those of *Henry VI* (all three parts) and *Richard III*, where he was working in collaboration with others, or revising their work, so that we are dealing with other problems besides those of his making;

(iii) the texts for which we have both a 'good' Quarto and the Folio, and have to ascertain their relations;

(iv) the texts of later plays for which we have only the Folio.

Thanks to the constant kindness of the editor of *The Literary Supplement* of *The Times*, Mr Wilson and I have been able to put in print, at least in outline, a theory as to the four piracies, and I have myself

dealt, even more sketchily, with the York and Lancaster Plays which form part of group (ii). In articles in *The Athenaeum*, Mr Wilson has written on the literary problems of *Hamlet* as well as in *The Library* on the more strictly bibliographical ones. We hope that volumes of the series will grow out of each of these preliminary handlings. For groups (iii) and (iv), we have at present but scanty materials, but we know already that there are plenty to be found. The printers of the Quartos, the editors of the Folio, have alike been blamed for doing so little to present Shakespeare's plays in a worthy form, for not correcting obvious errors, for not even dividing the texts uniformly into Acts and Scenes. We should rather be thankful that these honest men were content with printing the copies from which they had to work with so little alteration. Where they have asserted themselves they have done real harm which can never be entirely righted. Their refusal to edit their material is always our gain. On almost every page of the Quartos and First Folio there is to be found some clue to the history of the text which the literary editors have either despised as beneath their notice or treated as an error introduced by the printers, without ever asking why or how the printers should have so mishandled straightforward copy, if it was straightforward copy that they had before them. We hope by noting and classifying these clues—stage-directions which should have been re-written, line-arrangements which should have been re-divided, strange spellings which should have been normalized, even misprints which should never have been made—to contribute something to the solution of problems which have already occupied the attention of scholars

and even of problems, of no less importance, which as yet have scarcely been raised. By dealing with them in separate booklets we hope to continue to advance safely, step by step, and to use the experience gained from the problems of one group in dealing with those of another. It is all pioneer work and we ask for the indulgence which pioneers may fairly claim and which up to the present we gratefully acknowledge has been most generously extended to us.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

5 *April*, 1920.

THE REGULATION OF THE BOOK TRADE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

LEGAL writers on English copyright have not shown much interest in the steps by which the conception of literary property was gradually built up, nor are any data easily accessible for comparing the course of its development in England and foreign countries. The accident by which our first English printer was also an exceptionally prolific literary producer and possessed of considerable influence at Court might well have led to a very early recognition of an author's rights to the fruits of his brain, had there been any competitor possessed of sufficient capital to be a really formidable pirate. In Germany, Italy, and France literary work of a kind for which copyright could now be claimed accounted for only quite a small proportion of the output of the earliest presses. The demand in Germany was mainly for printed editions of the ponderous text books of the previous three centuries. Italy added to these an even greater appetite for the Latin classics. In France, more especially at Lyons, there was a healthy demand for works, both imaginative and didactic, in the vernacular. But Caxton's fertility as a translator can hardly be paralleled in the fifteenth century, and this despite the fact that he came to the task late in life and burdened himself almost simultaneously with the cares of a printing-

house. A single book from his press, the *Chronicles of England*, which happens also to contain a long piece of original, or semi-original, writing probably from his pen, was reprinted by both Machlinia and (with additions) by the St Albans printer. His other works may have had a natural protection in the fact that, with so small a market as England then offered, to reprint one of them, with no hope of any help such as Caxton himself received from patrons, might have been but a risky adventure. In any case there was no general piratical attack on Caxton's publications, and thus the one English printer and man of letters who possessed the advantage of powerful friends at Court was never driven into a course of self-defence, which could hardly have failed to be helpful to all other honest men pursuing the same callings.

About the time of Caxton's death we begin to hear, first at Venice, afterwards in other Italian cities, and then, in the course of the next twenty years or so, in all the chief printing centres of Europe, of Privileges, by which on the petition usually of a printer, sometimes of an author or editor, other printers were forbidden to reprint the privileged work for a period of years, mostly ten, but sometimes not more than two. Of course, the prohibition was only effective within the dominion of the issuing authority; but the importation and sale of reprints were also forbidden, and there was a fine for every copy contumaciously produced, imported, or sold. Privileges were granted most frequently for works on the production of which it could be shown that a good deal of money had been spent, whether original or not: A striking instance of this is the privilege granted

by the Emperor for the Greek Testament edited by Erasmus and printed by Froben, a privilege which probably caused the otherwise unaccountable delay in publishing the New Testament in the Complutensian Polyglot for some years after it was printed, and this despite the fact that the Polyglot was produced by a Cardinal and approved by the Pope.

Grants of Privileges seem to entitle us to argue on the one hand that there was some practical danger of piracy, and on the other that there was no legal recognition of literary rights by appeal to which piracy could be defeated. The first appearance known to me of a privilege for an English printed book is on the Latin sermon preached by Richard Pace at St Paul's Cathedral on the Peace between England and France. This was printed by Pynson, who finished it on 13th November, 1518, and stated at the end of the colophon that it was issued 'cum priuilegio à rege indulto ne quis hanc orationem intra biennium in regno Angliæ imprimat aut alibi impressam et importatam in eodem regno Angliæ vendat.' For a sermon preached on a special occasion a privilege for two years was probably as good as one in perpetuity. In those attached to Horman's *Vulgaria* of 1519, and several later works from Pynson's press, no term is mentioned, the phrases used being simply 'cum priuilegio regis Henrici,' or 'cum priuilegio a rege indulto,' or in English, 'with priuilege to him granted by our souerayne lorde the king.'

The security bestowed on a book by the grant of a privilege was entirely reasonable, but the method of granting it was entirely bad. Every notice on a book that it was protected against piracy carried with it an implication that a book which possessed no

privilege might be pirated with impunity. If Caxton had been inspired to appeal to a Court of Equity when Machlinia reprinted the *Chronicles of England*, on the principle that for every wrong there is a remedy he might have won his case, or rather, if we allow for the law's delays in Tudor times, it might have been decided in his favour many years after he and Machlinia were both dead and their estates had been swallowed up by the costs of the litigation. It is not certain that he would have won it, because before printing made it possible to put several hundred copies of a book on the market at the same time, an author's 'rights' had no pecuniary value apart from the gifts which he might receive in return for presentation copies. The gifts, being gifts, might very probably have been ignored by the Courts as uncertain and indeterminate, while the profits from a printed edition might have been looked on askance as something too new to be recognized. Legal decisions in the second half of the eighteenth century established the doctrine that authors had always possessed a natural right to the fruits of their labour, but accompanied this declaration with the corollary that as soon as Parliament legislated on the subject by the Copyright Act passed in 1709, the limited statutory rights then conferred took the place of the natural rights, and left them unenforceable[1]. It might well have been

[1] This was finally laid down by the House of Lords in the case of *Millar* v. *Taylor* in 1774. That the author had an exclusive right of first printing his own work was decided by the opinions of eight judges to one, two other judges so qualifying their agreement as to make it worthless. The exclusive right of reprinting was decided by seven judges to four, the same majority declaring that the right was in perpetuity. That, on the other hand, the right was 'impeached,

argued, that the Privileges granted to particular books from 1518 onwards had the same effect.

It may naturally occur to us to ask by what power an English king, without consulting Parliament, could interfere by the advice of his Council, with such haphazard and essentially destructive benevolence, with literary property. A full answer to this question would take us far beyond the widest limits of bibliography. A practical view of the matter is that what a King of France or an Emperor could do a Tudor King of England would naturally assume that he could do also. In 1518, moreover, Luther had already started on his career as a Reformer, and this soon rendered almost inevitable the claim, which was gradually made all over Europe, that everything which concerned Printing must necessarily be under Government control. In a proclamation, probably issued early in 1529 (Pynson's bill for printing it was passed for payment on 6th March), we find a list of prohibited books. Another appeared in June, 1530; another on 1st January, 1536. On 16th November, 1538, there came yet another proclamation which, after a preamble beginning: 'The Kynges moste royall maiestie beinge enfourmed, that sondry contentious and sinyster opinyone[s], haue by wronge teachynge and naughtye printed bokes, encreaced and growen within this his realme of Englande,' forbids the importation, sale, or publication, 'without his

restrained or taken away by the statute of 8 Anne' (the Act of 1709) and the author precluded from any remedy except on the foundation of that statute was decided in two sets of judgments by six judges to five. See the admirable account of the case in Mr Augustine Birrell's *Seven Lectures on the Law and History of Copyright in Books* (Cassell and Co., 1899), especially pp. 124 *sqq.*

maiesties speciall licence,' of any English books printed abroad, and then proceeds:

> Item that no persone or persons in this realme, shall from hensforth print any boke in the englyshe tonge, onles vpon examination made by some of his gracis priuie counsayle, or other suche as his highnes shall appoynte, they shall haue lycence so to do, and yet so hauynge, not to put these wordes *Cum priuilegio regali*, without addyng *ad imprimendum solum*, and that the hole copie, or els at the least theffect of his licence and priuilege be therwith printed, and playnely declared and expressed in the Englyshe tonge vnderneth them.

After this come special regulations as to printing the Scriptures, which need not here be rehearsed. The important point for us is that here we have the first of several enactments which forbade the printing of any book in English except after it had been examined by *some* (which implies two or more) of the Privy Council, 'or other suche as his highnes shall appoynte.'

Incidentally we may note that while a licence to print and a privilege carrying with it protection against piratical competition ought to have been kept clearly distinct, the one word 'priuilegium' seems to have been used as a Latin equivalent for both, the reason being, I believe, that King Henry VIII, who re-wrote this clause with his own hand, was not in the least concerned at the moment with the commercial effect of the proclamation, but only with maintaining his own right of censorship. Every book, as I understand the proclamation, required a licence; but this licence was not to be paraded by the use of the words 'Cum priuilegio regali,' without these words being limited and restricted by the addition

'ad imprimendum solum.' These must therefore be construed 'only for printing,' i.e. they did not, unless this was expressly stated, confer the royal approbation and they did not in themselves prohibit piracy, though the 'whole copy' or 'effect' of the privilege, when it is printed as the Proclamation directs, probably always contains this prohibition. There is sufficient evidence that by the reign of Elizabeth the words 'ad imprimendum solum' had come to be generally interpreted as equivalent to 'for sole, or exclusive, printing.' Whether or no they can legitimately bear this meaning in Tudor Latin, it seems quite clear from this Proclamation that this is not the meaning they were originally intended to bear.

On 8th July, 1546, there was issued another proclamation 'to auoide and abolish suche englishe bookes as conteine pernicious and detestable errours and heresies' which, while it suggests, as we can gather from other evidence, that the stringent regulations of its predecessor had been inoperative, is itself, as far as it relates to printing, framed on more reasonable lines. The clause concerning this reads:

> Moreouer the kynges maiesty strayghtly chargeth and commaundeth, vpon the peine aforesayde [i.e. imprisonment and fine], that from henceforth no printer do print any maner of englishe boke, balet or playe, but he put in his name to the same, with the name of thautour, and daye of the printe, and shall presente the fyrst copye to the mayre of the towne where he dwelleth, and not to suffer any of the copies to go out of his handes within two dayes next following.

Mayors being usually busy persons, with their own trades or crafts to attend to, it was distinctly hard on them to be saddled with the task of reading any book

printed in their town within eight and forty hours of the deposit of a copy. But as far as the printer was concerned, nothing could be more reasonable, and bibliographers and librarians might have blessed Henry VIII if he could have ensured that 'every englishe boke, balet, or playe' should bear the name of the author, the name of the printer, and the day on which it was completed. Unfortunately the proclamation came towards the very close of Henry VIII's reign and had very little effect.

Edward VI took up the subject, at the end of a querulous proclamation of 28th April, 1551, on the worst possible lines.

> And forbicause diuers Printers, Bokeselers, and Plaiers of Enterludes, without consideracion or regarde to the quiet of the realme, do print, sel, and play whatsoeuer any light and phantastical hed listeth to inuent and deuise, whereby many inconueniences hath, and dayly doth arise and follow, amonge the kinges maiesties louyng and faithful subiectes: His highnes therfore straightly chargeth and commaundeth that from hencefurth, no printer or other person do print nor sel, within this Realme or any other his maiestis dominions, any matter in thenglish tong, nor they nor any other person, do sel, or otherwise dispose abrode any matter, printed in any forreyn dominion in thenglishe tongue, onles thesame be firste allowed by his maiestie, or his priuie counsayl in writing signed with his maiesties most gratious hand or the handes of sixe of his sayd priuie counsayl, vpon payne of Imprisonment, without bayle or mayneprice, and further fine at his maiesties pleasor.

In the same way Queen Mary, in a proclamation of 18th August, 1553, soon after she came to the throne, after condemning the 'pryntynge of false fonde bookes,

ballettes, rymes, and other lewde treatises in the englyshe tonge, concernynge doctryne in matters now in question and controuersye, touchynge the hyghe poyntes and misteries of christen religion, whiche bokes, ballettes, rymes and treatises are chiefly by the Prynters and Stacioners sette out to sale to her graces subiectes, of an euyll zeale, for lucre and couetous of vyle gayne,' charged and commanded her subjects, not 'to prynte any bookes, matter, ballet, ryme, interlude, processe or treatyse nor to playe any interlude, except they haue her graces speciall licence in writynge for the same, vpon payne to incurre her highnesse indignation and displeasure.'

Probably, though it is not so stated, this 'speciall licence in writynge' was only required for books dealing with religious controversies. In two subsequent proclamations, of 13th June, 1555, and 6th June, 1558, heretical books were again condemned the second proclamation going so far as to declare that any one 'founde to haue any of the sayde wycked and seditious bokes...shall be reputed and taken for a rebell, and shall without delay be executed for that offence accordyng to thordre of marshall lawe.'

The importance of Mary's reign for our purpose lies not in these proclamations, but in the grant of a Charter to the Stationers' Company, which speedily raised it to great importance. But for understanding the motives which dictated the grant of a Charter, the ferocious threat which we have just quoted is not without relevance. In normal times a Tudor monarch, desiring to increase his control over any trade, would have wrapped up his real purpose with professions of love and care for his subjects, or complimentary

remarks on the efficiency of English craftsmen, such as form the preamble of the Act of 1534, restricting, for ecclesiastical and political reasons, the importation of books from abroad. Hence, when we find the whole charter dominated by the idea of suppressing prohibited books, we might suspect that the initiative had come from the Stationers, who put forward the need for such an absolute control of the trade in order to persuade Philip and Mary to give them a monopoly. Dr Arber, though he did not advance this particular argument, was quite sure that the initiative came from the Stationers. Thus he wrote (*Transcript*, vol. I. xxvi.):

> The origin and occasion of the Company of Stationers has been much misunderstood. It has been usually thought that King Philip and Queen Mary grouped the hitherto scattered Printers and Stationers into one Company and in London in order to exercise a more effectual control over all English printed books: whereas it was the printing and publishing trade which had long been organized as a City Craft that sought the royal incorporation and the civic livery for its own greater honour and importance.

Dr Arber based this view on a statement by Christopher Barker in 1582, in which he makes him say that 'the Company *procured* a charter,' and italicizes the word 'procured.' But the statement, as he quotes it on his next page, does not use the word 'procured.' What Barker said is: 'Moreover the printer and Stacioners of the same *obteined* a ch[art]re for a Corporacõn by reason of the disorder in pryntynge did so greatlie encrease, to the ende we might restrayne many euilles which would haue happened in the saide profession.' Dr Arber contended that the disorders and evils were trade dis-

orders and trade evils, but when Barker goes on to speak of avoiding 'the disordered behauiour of prynters and suche troubles that might grow by printing,' etc., we must surely interpret his language by the wording of the Charter itself, which says nothing about benefiting the trade, but bases the whole case for a charter on the need for dealing with prohibited books. Under normal circumstances, as we have said, the Charter might be interpreted by inversion. But Philip and Mary were already bitterly angry, and the fact that less than a year later they are found threatening to execute by martial law anyone possessing a heretical book explains the absence of any smooth phrases in the Charter of 1557. When they said that they were actuated by a desire to suppress (what they considered) bad books, they told the truth, and there is no need to go behind their own statement.

That the initiative in the grant of a Charter came from the Crown is made more probable by the contemporary enactments in Spain. According to Mr Barwick ('Laws regulating Printing in Spain,' *Bibliographical Society's Transactions*, iv. 48):

> In 1554...an order was issued vesting the licensing power in the Royal Council alone. In 1558 Philip II forbad the sale of imported books before they were licensed, under penalty of death and confiscation of property. This law was made retrospective and those already in stock were to be sent to the Council for approval, under penalty of transportation and confiscation. In this law is first introduced the system, that in the copy submitted to the Council, each page should be signed by one of its notaries, and the errata be entered at the end, the type was then corrected, and the printer was bound to return the signed

copy with one or two copies of the impression, and it was likewise ordered that the names of the author, printer and place of printing should be placed in the book. The penalty for any contravention was banishment and confiscation.

Dr Arber would hardly have maintained that *this* enactment was prompted by love of the Spanish Stationers, and although Philip was not in England at the time that the Charter was granted to their English brethren, it seems probable that the underlying motive was the same in each case.

The Charter begins with a preamble as to the need of suppressing objectionable books, recites the names of the Master, Wardens, and Members of the Company, invests the Company with all the usual powers of a Corporation, such as suing in common, etc., prohibits any printing by anyone not a member of the Company, and gives to the Master and Wardens power of imprisonment, a right of search, etc. We shall have to say more about the Company later on. For the moment all that we are concerned with is the ease with which henceforth the Crown could control the whole printing trade. Henceforth every printer was known and under strict regulation, and a body of expert detectives was enlisted in the Government service, able to make a shrewd guess as to whence the type in which any pamphlet or bill was printed had been obtained, and with their own personal interest in helping to suppress any illicit work.

When Elizabeth, the year after she came to the throne, issued the 'Injunctions' of 1559, the Stationers' Company was still in its early days, and although reference is made to the Company in the fifty-first Injunction, which deals with books and

printing, the attitude taken up is still that of the earlier Proclamations. The Injunction reads:

51. Item, because there is a great abuse in the Printers of bookes, which for couetousness cheefely, regard not what they print, so that they may haue gaine, whereby ariseth great disorder by publication of vnfruitefull, vaine, and infamous bookes and papers, the Queenes maiestie straitlye chargeth and commaundeth, that no manner of person shall print any manner of booke or paper, of what sort, nature or in what language soeuer it be, excepte the same bee firste licensed by her Maiestie, by expresse wordes in writing, or by six of her priuie counsel: or be perused and licensed by the Archbishops of Canterburie and Yorke, the Bishop of London, the Chauncelors of both Vniuersities, the Bishop being Ordinarye and the Archdeacon also of the place, where any such shal be printed or by two of them, wherof the Ordinarie of the place to be alwayes one. And that the names of such as shall allowe the same to bee added in the end of euery such worke, for a testimonie of the alowance thereof. And because many pamphelets, playes and ballads, bee oftentimes printed, wherein regard woulde bee had, that nothing therein should be either heretical, seditious, or vnseemely for Christian eares: her Maiestie likewise commaundeth, that no maner of person shall enterprise to print any such excepte the same bee to him licensed by suche her Maiesties Commissioners, or three of them, as be appointed in the Cittie of London, to heare and determine diuers causes Ecclesiasticall, tending to the execution of certain statutes, made the last Parliament for vniformitie of order in Religion. And if any shall sell or vtter any maner of bookes or papers, being not licensed, as is abouesayde: that the same partie shalbe punished by order of the saide Commissioners, as to the qualitie of the fault shalbe thought meete. And touching all other bookes of matters of religion, or pollicie, or gouernance, that hath bene printed eyther on this side

the Seas, or on the other side, because the diuersitie of them is great, and that there nedeth good consideration to be had of the particularities thereof, her Maiestie referreth the prohibition or permission thereof, to the order whiche her sayde Commissioners within the Cittie of London shall take and notifie. According to the whiche, her Maiestie straitly commaundeth all maner her subiectes, and specially the Wardens and company of Stationers to be obedient.

Prouided that these orders doe not extende to any prophane [i.e. classical] aucthours, and works in any language that hath ben heretofore commonly receiued or allowed in any of the vniuersities or schooles, but the same may be printed and vsed as by good order they were accustomed.

(B.M. C. 37. e. 53.)

It seems not improbable that whoever drafted this Injunction was much better acquainted with Edward VI's Proclamation of 28th April, 1551, which has a similar mention of six Privy Councillors, or Mary's of 18th August, 1553, which in like manner vituperates Printers and Stationers as being 'of an euyll zeale for lucre and couetous of vyle gayne,' than with the Charter recently granted to the Stationers. It is certainly noteworthy that by the inclusion among the licensing authorities of 'the Bishop being Ordinarie and the Archdeacon also of the place, where any such shal be printed, or by two of them, whereof the Ordinarie of the place to be alwayes one,' the writer of the Injunction clearly contemplated the existence of provincial presses, such as had come into being in the reign of Edward VI at Ipswich, Worcester, and Canterbury, whereas by the Charter granted to the London stationers provincial printing had been absolutely suppressed.

A still stronger argument that the draftsman of the fifty-first Injunction was ignorant that a much

better way of dealing with the book-trade had already been found may seem to be the fact that it was almost universally disregarded. This, however, seems to have been the fate of the similar provisions in the various proclamations of the three previous reigns, and we shall make a great mistake if we imagine that because they were thus disregarded they were therefore inoperative. Bread has to be won and the day's work got through despite of risks, and just as French and Belgian peasants have dug their potatoes and collected their handful of sticks with shells falling on the other end of the field, so the Tudor printers and publishers took their risks, and seldom troubled to comply with impossible regulations, such as that requiring the signatures of six privy councillors to authorise the publication of a ballad. But the shells which an old woman disregards prove the existence of guns which may prevent the advance of an army, and throughout the reign of Elizabeth the control of the book trade by the ministers of the Crown was as nearly as possible complete.

In 1566 an Order in Council repeated some of the provisions of the Injunction of 1559, and took power to call upon any printer to find security for his good behaviour. In 1572 the usefulness of the Stationers' Company was proved by the success with which it hunted down the secret Puritan press which printed Cartwright's *Admonition to the Parliament*, and it is noteworthy that throughout the rest of the reign of Elizabeth we hear of only two other secret presses of any importance, that in the Jesuit interest, which printed Campion's *Rationes decem* in 1581, and the famous Marprelate Press, which defied the Government with some success in 1588–9. On the

other hand, Elizabeth and her advisers made serious trouble for themselves by continuing the bad practice of granting privileges not merely for individual books, but for whole classes of books. As early as 1544, possibly to console them for dropping money over their Bibles, Grafton and Whitchurch had been granted such a privilege for printing service books. In 1552 Tottell was granted a similar privilege for law books, and in that and the following year John Day had received the valuable monopoly of the *Catechism in English* and *A B C*. In Elizabeth's reign Thomas Marshe was granted exclusive rights in printing Latin books for use in schools, and Richard Watkins in English almanacs. As long as Archbishop Parker lived, the printing of English Bibles was kept in the hands of Richard Jugge (who, perhaps by the Archbishop's orders, made scanty use of it), while, with equal suavity and firmness, Parker rendered wholly inoperative the privileges granted to Bodley and his friends for printing the Geneva version. But the breath was hardly out of Parker's body when trouble began. For the first time we hear of a formal compliance with the Injunctions of 1559, and seven privy councillors (one more than was needed) licensed Christopher Barker, a protégé of Sir Francis Walsingham's, to print the Geneva Bible and New Testament. In 1577, moreover, after a pecuniary arrangement for the benefit of Sir Thomas Wilkes, a Privy Councillor of some importance, Barker was appointed Printer to the Queen, and received a monopoly for printing Bibles, service-books, statutes, proclamations, and all books ordered to be printed by the Queen or Parliament.

The strife which followed the issue of this patent

lasted very nearly as long as the Trojan War, and the details of it are beside our purpose. It began with quarrels between Barker and the earlier patentees, some of whose privileges, notably those of Tottell for law printing, the new patent infringed. It speedily led to a much more serious struggle between the privileged and non-privileged printers, in which it is clear that popular sympathy was strongly on the side of the non-privileged, or the extraordinary boldness with which their leaders, Roger Ward and John Wolfe, defied Queen and Council, would have led to a very different result. The Council insisted on the Queen's right to grant privileges being maintained, and maintained it was, though the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the trouble had mildly deprecated the use made of it. In other respects the malcontents secured notable gains. John Wolfe was bought off by being appointed City Printer. The privileged printers placed the right of reprinting many of their books in the hands of the Stationers' Company, to be used to find work for the poorer printers. The Company itself passed an ordinance restricting the number of copies of which an edition might consist, so as to secure more work for compositors, and also restricted the number of apprentices and forbade their employment on work which a journeyman of good character was ready to perform. Finally, the notorious 'Newe Decrees of the Starre Chamber for order in Printing' of 23rd June, 1586, though prejudice against the Star Chamber has caused them to be generally regarded as merely repressive, were assuredly at least partly inspired by an honest desire to find a remedy for these economic troubles, which were felt to be dangerous.

The key to the situation is supplied by the fact that the test-case of the struggle was the claim that anyone who pleased should be allowed to print the *A B C* with the *Little Catechism*, a book for which there was a continual demand, which presented no difficulties, literary or typographical, for which, indeed, the poorest printing would suffice, and no author nor editor had to be paid. The total number of men engaged in the printing trade at this time was less than two hundred, but small as this number may seem, it was more than there was work for. The larger printers laid stress, and we must take due note of it, on the fact that unless they were secured against piracy, they could not afford to pay 'a learned man' to write or edit a book. The learned men naturally took their wares to the larger firms, who could both print better and pay better, and where, as by now was mostly the case, a publisher intervened, he too would naturally take his books to the larger printers, who printed better, and could employ him to publish the books over which they, as printers, possessed rights. The remedy which the Star Chamber proposed, a reduction in the number of printing-presses, in so far as it was carried out, must have tended to put more work into the hands of any printer who possessed a press. An unused press was equally obnoxious to the wealthier members of the Stationers' Company and the Government, for sooner or later it might be used to print either the *A B C* or a more or less treasonable pamphlet. Even after the 'Newe Decrees' of the Star Chamber a printer with a press and a handful of type, eager to make a bit of bread by using them, was a potential pirate.

Having said something as to the part played by

the Privy Council in regulating the Printing trade, and as to the genesis of Pirates, a little must be added about the Stationers' Company, which thus far we have considered only as the instrument of the Privy Council for the suppression of inconvenient literature. The Company claims to have been formed, out of two earlier ones, in 1404. At what date printers were first admitted to it is still doubtful. Caxton was a Mercer, and had no reason to become a Stationer, nor can we imagine that the Stationers would have welcomed very cordially the introducer of so formidable an innovation as the new art of printing. As all, or nearly all, his contemporaries and immediate successors, Lettou, Machlinia, Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson and Faques, possibly also Julian Notary, were foreigners, whatever prejudice existed would not lightly die out. Possibly Peter Actors, though a native of Savoy, was admitted to the Company in virtue of his appointment as Stationer to the King, and when William Faques succeeded Actors, though he called himself Printer, not Stationer, to the King, the Stationers may have accepted him also. Certainly Pynson, who succeeded Faques as royal printer, seems to have been a member of the Company, since in his will he directs that John Snowe and Richard Withers 'shall serve their yeares at the assignment of my executrix. And at thende of their said yeres my said executrix to make them free of my craft.' Wynkyn de Worde's will explicitly speaks of his executor, John Bedill (or Byddell), as 'citizen & stacioner of London,' and of the three overseers of the will, Henry Pepwell, John Gough and Robert Copland, as 'Stacioners.' Whether De Worde himself was a Stationer is less certain. The freedom with which he reprinted some

of Pynson's books would have been reprehensible in a brother of the same company.

Printers are to us so much more interesting than Stationers that we naturally give them precedence, but it is probable that as a class the Stationers were for many years the wealthier and more influential. It is certainly noteworthy that, according to Mr Duff's extracts from the Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1523–4 (*The Library*, 2nd Series, IX. 257 *sq.*) one Stationer, John Taverner, was assessed at £307 as against De Worde's £201 11*s.* 1*d.*, and another, Richard Nele (who was transferred to the Ironmongers in 1525) at £100 as against Pynson's £60. Thus, even in the first half of the sixteenth century, there is no reason to think that the Stationers would in any way have courted the Printers, and on the other hand members of other companies, for instance, Grafton who was a Grocer, Whitchurch who was a Haberdasher, and John Day who is said, until 1550 or thereabouts, to have been a Stringer, seem to have been able to exercise the craft of Printing without molestation from the Stationers. But be this as it may, at the time that the Company was granted its Charter almost all the practising printers had become members of it. Some of these may have rallied to it only in anticipation of that event; but on the other hand, throughout the 'forties in the lessened encroachment on other men's 'copies' and in the beginning of joint-publication, as in the case of the *Chaucer* of [1545] in which four firms took part, we may perhaps trace the development of what may be called 'Company' manners.

It seems clear that, although neither the injunctions of 1559 nor the Order in Council of 1566

authorized such a course, the Stationers' Company from the outset, and for many years afterwards, acted as a licensing authority. The Company's years ran from July to July, and under the first of them (1557–8), after it received a Charter, we find a rubric (Arber, i. 74): 'The Entrynge of all such Copyes as be lycensed to be printed by the Master and Wardyns of the mystery of stacioners as foloweth.' In the next year (1558–9), which included the accession of Elizabeth, its ability and willingness to exercise authority is shown by the entries under another rubric: 'fynes for defautes for Pryntynge withoute lycense.' The printer of an unlicensed ballad was only fined fourpence, and in the case of an unlicensed book twelvepence, but where the book was of a kind for which special authority would have been expected the fines are much heavier, no less a person than John Day being fined five shillings (equivalent in 1913 to nearly £2 and to about double that now) 'for prynting of a boke without lycense called an Excelent treates made by Nosterdamus,' and Richard Adams the same sum for printing 'the Regester of all them that were burned,' a very controversial topic in the early days of the new reign. An even heavier punishment was inflicted on Richard Lant who had printed without licence an *Epitaph of Queen Mary*, for of him it is recorded that he 'was sent to warde,' i.e. to the Company's private prison. As a typical entry of this period, in the case of an obviously harmless book, we may cite one for 1559:

> Recevyd of John daye for his lycense for the pryntynge of the governaunce of vertue the vj of august iiij^{d}.

As an example of a specially authorized entry we

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may take this of the year 1570–71, just before a break in the Company's records:

> Recevyd of Rychard Jones for his lycense for y^e^ pryntinge of morral phelosiphe by [i.e. authorised by] my lord of London.

Save that 'Lycenced to' was frequently substituted for 'Recevyd for his lycense for the printing of,' this form continued in use till 1588, and, in face of it, we must admit that the Company acted as a licensing authority for harmless books. According, however, to a note as to the former practice of licensing books made in 1636 by Sir John Lambe, on 30th June, 1588, 'the Archbishop gave power to Doctor Cosin, Doctor Stallard, Doctor Wood, master Hartwell, master Gravett, Master Crowley, master Cotton and master Hutchinson, or any one of them to license books to be printed: Or any 2 of these following master Judson, master Trippe, master Cole and master Dickens[1].' The appointment of a body of accessible licensers clearly superseded the informal licensing power which the Stationers themselves had

[1] Arber, iii. 690. The note of Sir J. Lambe proceeds: 'From 19° Elizabethe till the Starrechamber Decree 28° Elizabethe, many were licensed by the master and Wardens, some few by the master Alone, and some by the Archbishop and more by the Bishop of London. The like was in the former parte of the Quene Elizabeths time. They were made a corporation but by P. and M. Master Kingston, the now master, sayth that before the Decree the master and wardens licensed all, and that when they had any Divinity booke of muche importance they would take the advise of some 2 or 3 ministers of this towne.' Lambe's taking the date '19° Elizabethe' as a starting point suggests that he was writing after glancing through the Stationers' Registers, and that the gap in these from 1571 to 1576 was already there. Neither his note nor Felix Kingston's assertion has any independent authority, but taken together they give substantially the same account as that offered above.

previously exercised. Henceforth, though variants occur, the form of an entry on 1st July, 1588:

> Thomas Orwin. Entred to him for his copie, A booke intitled the complaint of tyme Alowed vnder Doctor Stallers hand as profitable to be printed vj$^{d.}$

(omitting the 'as profitable to be printed') became increasingly common, until gradually it ousted all others. After a time the Wardens to some extent recovered their old position as informal licensers, but the use of the form, 'Entred for his copy,' kept the two points involved in the entry (i) a record of permission to print, and (ii) a promise of protection from piracy, much better distinguished than in the older entries.

If we take the two points just mentioned to represent the advance made in the economic position of the English book trade during the sixteenth century, this will at first sight seem very small, and smaller still if we look at it from the standpoint of an author. Until the doctrines of Luther began to spread to England, no permission to print was needed. Amid the religious and political upheaval which resulted from the new teaching the book trade suffered heavily, and doubtless its members congratulated themselves in the year of the Armada on the comparative ease with which a licence could be procured for works which aroused no religious or political objection. The protection from piracy, though unless secured by a royal privilege it had no legal force, but rested solely on the private ordinances of the Stationers' Company, was a real and obvious gain. Moreover, although the ordinances of the Stationers' Company took no account whatever of the rights of authors, it was a gain

to these as well as to printers and publishers. Next to being able to secure perpetual copyright in his writings for himself, the best thing that could happen to an author was to be able to sell his books to someone else who could do so. The copyright which the Stationers' Company conferred on the publisher who entered a book on its register, by increasing his prospect of profit made it possible to increase also the remuneration of the author, nor was there such a total absence of competition between rival publishers as to oblige an author to accept whatever he was offered. Literary payments, being a new thing, could not be put on a reasonable footing all at once. By Milton's day, though no change in the legal position had occurred, an author could secure by contract a promise of further payments for later editions. The Elizabethan custom transferred to the publisher the entire property in a book for a single payment, which the possibility of future editions would and could only slightly affect. This was the publisher's gain and the author's loss, but for books of which only a single edition could be sold, there seems no reason to believe that the Elizabethan author obtained worse terms than he would at the present day. The worst payment which we hear of is the twenty-six copies of his book handed over to an obscure writer named Richard Robinson instead of cash; the best, the £40 in money, with maintenance for himself, two servants, and their horses during nine months, which Dr Fulke received from George Bishop for his *Confutation of the Rhemish Testament*. £2 is said to have been the market-price for a popular pamphlet, though Greene or Nash may have obtained double this. Even the doubled sum may seem very little. But parsons and

schoolmasters, even fellows of colleges, were apparently considered lucky in Elizabeth's reign if they earned more than £20 a year. These all pursued old established methods of earning a living. It is no matter for wonder if those who tried a newer path found it even stonier. Our only point is that, whether the payments were little or large, in cash, in board and lodging, or in books, the payment of authors had definitely become a trade custom by the end of the sixteenth century. We shall consider in another lecture how far these payments were made precarious by publishers obtaining security for themselves, 'notwithstanding their first Coppies were purloyned from the true owner or imprinted without his leave.' That they did this, is the accusation brought against the booksellers in the *Schollers Purgatory* by George Wither, whose personal grievance was his failure to enforce an iniquitous grant he had obtained from James I, by which no one was to be able to buy a copy of *The Psalms in Metre* without also buying Wither's *Hymns*. The grievance makes Wither a bad witness, but his charge has often been repeated, and we shall have to see what substance there is in it, more especially as regards the plays with which we are mainly concerned.

AUTHORS, PLAYERS, AND PIRATES IN SHAKESPEARE'S DAY

IN writing on the Regulation of the Book Trade in the Sixteenth Century I claimed that the informal copyright which the Stationers' Company was able to secure to its members in the case of any book duly entered on its register, though it seems to us a poor substitute for a legal copyright vested in the author himself, distinctly increased the market value of the literary wares which an author might have to sell. The publisher, when he was protected from piracy, could afford to pay more than when he was not, and authorship became possible as a profession as soon as printers began to respect each others' rights. That the money received from booksellers was miserably small resulted not so much from their rapacity as from the smallness and poverty of the reading public. Moreover, whether little or much, it was a new income. Before the invention of printing an author was entirely dependent upon patronage for his literary rewards. It took three centuries wholly to supersede patronage, and in Shakespeare's day only about a third of the road had been travelled. The starveling author, Richard Robinson, whose account of his winnings Dr McKerrow unearthed some years ago, sold twenty-five of the twenty-six copies which his publisher gave him instead of cash, as a rule at a shilling apiece. Only once did he obtain as much as forty shillings for the lot. It was on the reward he

obtained for the twenty-sixth copy, the one presented to the patron selected as dedicatee, that the success or failure of a book depended. Once the poor wretch flew too high, and making the Queen herself his victim, came off empty-handed. Once, on the other hand, he obtained no less than £3, and proudly records that for a whole year thereafter he was no burden to his friends. Next best to this came a reward of thirty shillings from Sir Henry Sidney, supplemented by another ten from his son Philip. The gifts of other dedicatees were sometimes not more than a few shillings.

The system of patronage, of which Richard Robinson was a product, retarded the development of authorship as a profession in two ways: directly, by encouraging publishers to give less money on the plea that the patron would make it up; indirectly, by so lowering the status of authors who tried to live by their pens that no one with any pretension to rank or fashion could take money for his writings. To escape any imputation of doing so, fashionable authors avoided print altogether, and circulated their writings among their friends in manuscript. It was this practice which encouraged piracy more than anything else. The relatives of Sir Philip Sidney could not have pleaded that his estate was defrauded by his *Apology for Poetry*, or his *Astrophel*, or *Arcadia*, being printed by a publisher who had got hold of one of the manuscript copies. Under no circumstances would Philip Sidney, who, poor as he was, was a liberal patron of letters, have put himself on a level with those he patronized by taking money from a publisher. His relatives could only say that they objected, and in an ordinary court of law it is hard

to see how they could have obtained any redress. For here custom was all against them. If a medieval author circulated a book in manuscript he could not prevent other copies being made from it, though there may well have been cases in which it would have been thought shabby in an owner to permit this. Even the Elizabethan man of fashion who wrote out his poems for his friends had no remedy against copying in manuscript, and except on the ground of pecuniary damage, which a man of any distinction was debarred from pleading, it is hard to see how an Elizabethan judge could have ruled that to copy in manuscript was permissible, but to copy in print, not.

Just because all matters connected with printing were under the almost absolute control of the Privy Council and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Sidney family defeated the interfering publisher in every case; but the existence of a class of writers who neither did, nor could, take money for their books was none the less a great clog on the development of professional authorship, and introduced possibilities of genuine mistakes. We all know to what shifts Pope was reduced when he wanted the world to see what beautiful letters he was in the habit of writing to his friends, and recognized that literary etiquette, or perhaps we should say 'decent feeling,' forbade him to publish them himself. By devices which soon became obvious, though their full exposure was reserved for literary antiquaries almost of our own day, he procured their publication by the notorious pirate, Edmund Curll, and thus, though with much loss of credit, secured his object. In the sixteenth century any aristocratic author, or any author who wished to be thought equally scrupulous

on what was then considered a point of honour, found himself debarred from publishing his poems or other contributions to the fashionable literature of the day by a convention of very much the same kind as Pope, in the case of his private letters, only surmounted by disgraceful intrigues.

The preliminary matter of Barnabe Googe's *Eglogs and Epytaphes*, printed by Thomas Colwell for Raufe Newbery in 1563, shows us one way in which an author's pretty hesitations about committing his poems to print could be surmounted. In 1562, when Googe went on a visit to Spain, he left the manuscript of his verses in the keeping of a friend named Blundeston, who took on himself to send them to be printed, and explained at some length, both in verse and prose, how desire for his friend's fame prompted him to do so. The author's own story is given in his dedication: 'To the ryght worshipfull M. William Louelace, Esquier, Reader of Grayes Inne,' in which he asserts that his sense of the grossness of his style and distrust of 'scornefull and carpynge Correctours' caused him rather to condemn his poems to

continuall darkenes, wherby no Inconuenience could happen: than to endaunger my selfe in gyuynge them to lyght, to the disdaynfull doome of any offended mynde. Notwithstandynge[,] all the dylygence that I coulde vse in the Suppression therof coulde not suffise[,] for I my selfe beyng at that tyme oute of the Realme, lytell fearynge any suche thynge to happen A verye Frende of myne, bearynge as it semed better wyll to my doynges than respectyng the hazarde of my name, commytted them all togyther vnpolyshed to the handes of the Prynter. In whose handes durynge his absence from the Cytie, tyll his returne of late they remayned. At whiche tyme, he

declared the matter wholly vnto me: shewynge me that beynge so farre past, & Paper prouyded for the Impression therof: It coulde not withoute greate hynderaunce of the poore Printer be nowe reuoked. His sodayne tale made me at y^e^ fyrst, vtterly amazed, and doubting a great while, what was best to be done: at the lengthe agreying both with Necessytie and his Counsell, I sayde with Martiall *I iam sed poteras tutior esse domi*

and allowed the printer to proceed.

Googe's account of what happened is probably very fairly true. Had he been lying, he would not have confessed that at the time of his return printing had not yet begun, with the implication that by merely compensating Colwell for his loss on reselling the paper or holding it till it could be used on some other book, he could have kept his poems in safe obscurity. It is interesting to note, though we need not lay stress on it, that he assumes that he could have recalled his manuscript, and have left the printer to bear such loss as might result. But it sufficed for him to make consideration for 'the poore Printer' his excuse for publication, and it may suffice for us to point out what a confusing element the existence of busybodies or enthusiasts like Googe's friend Blundeston must have introduced into the book trade.

Blundeston was a real person and a real friend of Googe's, whether he played a friend's part in this transaction or not. A generation later, however, it is hardly surprising that the genuine enthusiasts, of whom we may take him as a type, should be very difficult to distinguish on the one hand from such a shadowy scapegoat as the 'some' whom Wm Percy made responsible for the publication of his *Sonnets to the fairest Coelia* in 1594, and on the other hand

from such professional dealers in manuscripts as Thomas Thorpe and William Hall, as to whose doings Sir Sidney Lee has brought together so much useful information in his account of the publication of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. It will be useful to remember that one of these began his career by procuring a manuscript of Marlowe's (his translation of the first book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*), and the other by getting hold of Robert Southwell's *A Foure-fould Meditation*; and that both Marlowe and Southwell were dead, and the works of one as a reputed atheist and of the other as a notorious Jesuit would be to an unusual extent at the disposal of anyone who had the courage to print them. On the other hand, Thorpe must have obtained Chapman's consent to publishing two of his plays, his *Byron* and *All Fools*, as we find that to all copies of the first and to some of the second Chapman prefixed a dedication. It may be doubted indeed if it can be proved, even in the case of Thorpe or Hall, that they plied their trade without any respect to the pecuniary rights of living professional authors. It is possible, perhaps probable, that Shakespeare's *Sonnets* were published by Thorpe in 1609 without his consent, and that he would have stopped their publication if he could. Into that thorny question we fortunately need not enter. But it is very much to our purpose to note that the *Sonnets* in 1609 had been in existence for some fifteen years, that Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* had commended them in print in 1598, and that yet, with the exception of two printed in *The Passionate Pilgrim* the following year (1599), no printer had been willing or able to appropriate them. They may have been pirated at last, but they escaped for fifteen years.

It may be worth while here to quote from Nashe's dedication of *The Terrors of the Night* to Mistres Elizabeth Carey his assertions as to its popularity in manuscript:

> As touching this short glose or annotation on the foolish Terrors of the Night...A long time since hath it line suppressed by mee: vntill the vrgent importunitie of a kinde frend of mine (to whom I was sundrie waies beholding) wrested a Coppie from me. That Coppie progressed from one scriueners shop to another, & at length grew so common, that it was readie to bee hung out for one of their signes, like a paire of indentures. Wherevppon I thought it as good for mee to reape the frute of my owne labours, as to let some vnskilfull pen-man or Nouerint-maker startch his ruffle & new spade his beard with the benefite he made of them.

Although the booklet was being so repeatedly copied by different scriveners not only did none of them make a second copy and sell it to a printer, but Nashe does not seem even to have considered the possibility of this being done. It is solely the benefit or pay which the 'vnskilfull pen-man' might make by producing manuscript copies that he grudges him. Yet in 1594 a pamphlet by Nashe had probably as high a selling value as any other book of the same length that was being put on the market.

The point we are making is that the appropriation of literary rights without permission or payment which we call piracy, in so far as it can be proved, was largely concerned with the works of dead authors, or of men whose rank would have forbidden them to receive payment for their books. The talk about books being printed without leave is at least sometimes only doubtfully sincere. Men who were known to

be making a living from their pens seem to have suffered very little indeed from piracy, even when, as in the case of the book by Nashe just mentioned, they laid themselves easily open to attack.

In this connection we shall do well to remember that there was no change in the law, or in the apparent, though not quite real, exclusion of authors from the benefit of such copyright as the Stationers' Company could secure, for exactly a hundred years after the publication of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. In 1624, in his *Schollers Purgatory*, George Wither wrote of the Stationers:

> Yea, by the lawes and Orders of their Corporation, they can and do setle vpon the particuler members thereof a p[e]rpetuall interest in such Bookes as are Registered by them at their Hall, in their several Names: and are secured in taking the full benefit of those books, better then any Author can be by virtue of the Kings Grant, notwithstanding their first Coppies were purloyned from the true owner, or imprinted without his leave.

In whatever sense this assertion was true at the time when Wither made it, it was true also when Milton was able to make a formal contract securing him a share in the profits of more editions of *Paradise Lost* than were printed during his life, and when Dryden was able to support himself by his pen. Until the first Copyright Act was passed in 1709 there was no change in the law. Whatever else that statute effected (and it might well be contended that it benefited the reading public at the expense of authors) it did not suppress piracy. It was in the year which preceded that Act that Edmund Curll's name is first found on a title-page, and his notorious career extended for some thirty years after it became law.

Yet, though accusations have been levelled at random against this or that Elizabethan printer or publisher, there is not one of them who, as a pirate, can be named in the same breath with Curll.

Curll's piracies did not prevent the position of authors from steadily improving during the eighteenth century. It cannot therefore be argued that the fact that the position of authors undoubtedly improved steadily during the life of Shakespeare proves that there were no piracies in his day. It only proves that they were not on a scale to interfere with the steady development. Piracies there were, and two reasons have here been advanced to explain this much exaggerated but indubitable fact: (i) the presence in London of more printers than there was work for; (ii) the convention which forbade men of rank or fashion from circulating their poems or essays except in manuscript. The first of these sources of trouble was steadily kept in view by the Privy Council, whose interference, usually represented as purely repressive and tyrannical, was in part at least economic and (on the whole) beneficent. The second cause may be presumed to have been largely removed by the succession to the throne, in the person of James I, of 'a prentice in the noble art of poetry' who did not refrain from publication. Even while these two purely transitory causes were in full operation their effect on the English book-trade as a whole was insignificant. We have now to ask whether there were any circumstances peculiar to one branch of the book-trade, that concerned with the publication of plays, which should incline us to believe that it was specially open to attack, and what positive evidence can be found of the attacks having been successful.

During the middle years of the sixteenth century, when the ecclesiastical future of England was still uncertain, the acting of interludes supporting more or less blatantly either the Roman or the Protestant side seems to have greatly annoyed successive Tudor governments. Elizabeth dealt with the nuisance by an Act declaring all players of interludes to be rogues and vagabonds and liable to the unpleasant penalties provided for these poor folk, unless formed into companies under the protection of a Privy Councillor, who would be answerable for their good behaviour. As the business community became more and more strongly addicted to Puritanism, the rulers of the City of London would gladly have prohibited stage plays altogether. Elizabeth, however, as well as her successors, happened to be very fond of these performances, and on the plea that they must be given opportunities to develop their skill for exhibition at Court, the players were generally protected, although all performances were forbidden during visitations of the plague for fear of infection, and at other times increase of Puritan pressure might restrict the number of them.

The fact that one company of players was under the protection of the Lord High Admiral, and another of the Lord Chamberlain, and that these were two of the most important members of the Privy Council, which, as we have seen, exercised supreme authority over printers and printing, suggests at first that these companies must have had complete protection against interference on the part of pirates. It was the companies with which the pirates would have had to deal, as during the reign of Elizabeth it is certain that the dramatists sold their complete

rights to the company which was to act the play, so that it would be the company, not the author, that would be injured by a piracy. That a company with the Lord Chamberlain or the Lord High Admiral as its protector should have submitted to any systematic robbery is in the highest degree unlikely. On the other hand, the hostility of the City and occasional trouble at Court rendered the position of the players always more or less precarious, and to trouble a great lord over a small matter when they might need his help in a much more important one would not have been wise. Hence we need not be surprised if we find a company submitting to occasional loss rather than trouble their protector, as long as the loss does not become too frequent. The market price for a pamphlet towards the end of the sixteenth century seems to have been forty shillings, though the most popular writers obtained more. The selling value of a play must have been much the same as that of a pamphlet. A few when printed went through half a dozen or more editions; many of those we think the best were never reprinted at all, or not in the popular quarto form. To go to the Lord Chamberlain over the loss of a forty-shilling fee for the printing rights in a play would hardly have been good business.

On the other hand, if we are tempted to extend this argument to the point of agreeing with the contention that it could never have been worth while for a company to permit its plays to be printed, we must remember that the total sum paid to an author by the company was itself only small, ranging as a rule from £6 to £10 in the latter years of Elizabeth, though as much as £20 seems occasionally to have

been paid, and during the next decade may not have been an unusual fee. To recover from a publisher twenty or even ten per cent. of the original price paid for a play cannot have been a matter of indifference, and although at the outset of a play's run it would probably have been bad policy to allow it to be printed for any fee a publisher could have afforded to pay, there must have come a time when the injury, if any, done by publication would have been more than made good even by a return of only a small fraction of the price paid.

On the view here maintained the players' willingness to permit the publication of any individual play would be decided by the conditions of the moment, while their special power of appealing to the Privy Council was a reserve force which secured them against any general attack, but not from isolated and occasional depredations. As regards the Stationers' Company the players held no specially favoured position. It is even possible that some of the more important members of the Company may have taken the official City view that play-acting was a nuisance which ought to be abolished. But except that if a needy printer were earning his bit of bread by pirating a play, he might be a little less likely to be also pirating the *Grammar and Accidence* or the *Catechism with the A B C*, the magnates of the Stationers' Company had no reason to approve of the multiplying of plays by piracy, while they had the very strongest reasons for not embroiling themselves with the Privy Councillors who were the players' protectors.

The defensive position of the players being such as we have described, what were the possible attacking

forces, and what power did they possess? We have seen that owing to the lack of work and the uneven distribution of such work as there was, some minor printer was always likely to be in difficulties, and as we know that these men were ready at such times to set the Stationers' Company at defiance by pirating the *Grammar and Accidence* or the *Catechism*, it is not likely that they would be squeamish about pirating a play. Before a play could be printed, however, the text of it had to be obtained, and after it was printed the booklet had to be sold, and neither of these necessary steps was easy. Thomas Heywood, in a preface written to his *Lucrece* in 1608, speaks of early plays of his[1] having 'accidentally come into the printers hands and therefore so corrupt and mangled (coppied only by the eare) that I haue bin as vnable to know them, as ashamed to chalenge them,' and a quarter of a century later in a Prologue written for the revival of his *If you know not me you know nobody, or the Troubles of Queen Elizabeth*, first published in 1605, asserts that

> Some by Stenography drew
> The plot: put it in print: (scarce one word trew:)

Heywood was writing a quarter of a century after the publication of the plays in question, and in other respects is not a very good witness; but taking his statements as they stand we must note, hardly without

[1] The plays of Heywood which had appeared in print before 1608 were the two parts of his *Edward IV* (1600, F. K. for Humfrey Lownes and John Oxenbridge), the two parts of *If you know not me* (1605, 1606, for N. Butter), *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1607, Wm. Jaggard, sold by John Hodgets), and *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* (1607, for Henry Rockit).

surprise, his declaration that the stenographic copy came 'accidentally' into the printer's hands, which excludes deliberate piracy on the part either of printer or shorthand writer. If we must venture a guess as to what happened we may remember that at a slightly later date manuscript copies of some of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays circulated among lovers of the drama, and it is possible that the shorthand copies of some of Heywood's plays were made by a scrivener for this comparatively innocent purpose, and that one of these came 'accidentally' into the printer's hands. Heywood's further statement that this was 'vnknown to me and without any of my direction,' it will also be observed, does not oblige us to believe that the company of players to whom he had sold his play outright were also ignorant of the transaction and unconcerned in it. In any case piracy by stenography can hardly, without incredible carelessness on the part of the owners of theatres, have been allowed to grow into a practice. When once detected it could easily be stopped.

Mr Fleay, when he set himself to explain how *Romeo and Juliet* was pirated, supposed that the text in question was the prompter's copy of an unrevised early version, and proceeds: 'When the revision took place this copy would be thrown aside as worthless; and any dishonest employé of the theatre could sell it to an equally dishonest publisher, who would publish it as the play now acted.' If piracy of plays was practically unknown in 1596 the explanation is bibliographically possible, whatever else may be said against it. But if piracy were at all a common danger can we imagine a prompter throwing aside a complete copy of a play for any dishonest servant

to pick up and sell; or, if this might happen once, can we believe it to have happened twice?

Dr Greg has suggested the possibility that the traitor in the case of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* may have been the actor who played the part of the Host, the scenes in which the Host appears being more coherently reproduced than the rest. This is technically a sound hypothesis, and the danger to which it points was more likely to be permanent, or recurrent, than those just considered. The 'hired men' in the Elizabethan theatres were poorly paid, and still more poorly esteemed, and if one of them made up his mind to add to his earnings in this fashion, it might have been some time before detection overtook him. If such a treacherous 'hired man' lighted on a printer such as John Danter when the latter was in his worst straits, there was nothing to prevent the piracy from being completed. Danter could hawk the edition among the booksellers without employing a publisher, and as soon as the copies were off his hands his known poverty would make it useless to take action against him. Unless he entered the book on the Register of the Stationers' Company he could claim no copyright in it, but (as we have said) many plays never reached a second edition, so Danter saved the sixpence registration fee, sacrificed the hope of future profit, and was content with his gains on a single edition. Had he flown at the higher game, he might have found himself cross-examined as to the provenance of his copy, and finally have been fobbed off with a conditional entry, 'provided that he get lawful license for it.' If the impecunious copy-snatcher were a bookseller instead of a printer, he might find himself

obliged to take this risk as the only means of making a profit at all. This seems to have been the case with John Busby when he entered *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, on 18th January, 1602, and assigned it, at the cost of another sixpence, there and then, to Arthur Johnson. If Arthur Johnson had declared himself unwilling to enter the play himself, or to buy the copy before it had been entered, we should have a pretty explanation why two sixpences were spent instead of one.

John Busby brought off his coup, owing probably to his victims being in an unusually defenceless position, of which he was doubtless aware. But in the twenty years July, 1590, to June, 1610, over 150 plays were duly brought before the Stationers' Company and entered, and, although here and there a pirate may have achieved the maximum success of getting a 'stolne and surreptitious' copy registered as his property, bibliographers may well hesitate to believe that such triumphs were frequent until someone propounds an easier way in which they could be achieved. Incredulity will be heightened when we find that a considerable proportion of these entries come close together, as if the books which they represent had been disposed of in batches. Thus in the two years July, 1591, to July, 1593, only six plays were registered; but in the ten months October, 1593, to July, 1594, no fewer than twenty-eight. In 1595 there were eight entries; in 1596 one; in 1597 two; in 1598 four; in 1599 two. Then in 1600 the number rises to twenty-two, and 1601 produced another eight. 1602 has three; 1603 (a plague year) only one; 1604 six; 1605 eleven; 1606 seven; 1607 as many as seventeen; 1608 a dozen,

or if we take the twelvemonth, 22nd March, 1608, to 10th March, 1609, seventeen again, after which no play was entered for another fifteen months. Surely these variations, from one, two or three entries of plays in a twelvemonth to seventeen, twenty-two or twenty-eight, point to a controlled output, to there being years when the supply was rigorously held up and other years when they were offered to the booksellers in such quantities as could only have been produced by the legitimate owners of them. We cannot imagine twenty-eight piracies having immediately preceded the ten months October, 1593, to July, 1594, but we can easily imagine that the players would have been glad to sell this number of plays about that time, because shortly before this there had been a similar period, from April to 22nd December, 1593, during which the theatres were closed because of the plague, and the companies must have been very hard hit. In like manner, though the coincidence is not quite so strong, the outpouring of plays in 1600 and 1601 may be connected with the Puritan attacks on the players which resulted in an Order in Council on 22nd June of the former year, restricting the number of theatres to two, forbidding any performances in Lent, and allowing only two a week at other times.

If the large numbers in which plays were put on the market in certain years oblige us to presume that they were obtained directly from the Companies of Players, as the only holders of plays who could supply them in this wholesale fashion, it is still part of my case that pirates existed and were occasionally successful. In the light of recently acquired knowledge it is interesting to note how these casual

depredations were resisted. Until lately it was generally assumed that James Roberts was the most audacious of the pirates. The assumption was curiously hasty, because Roberts was in possession of two special privileges, and it was the unprivileged men whose financial straits led them to take dangerous risks in order to obtain work. One of Roberts's privileges, shared with Richard Watkins, was for printing all almanacks and prognostications; the other, obtained by marrying the widow of John Charlewood, the original grantee, was for printing all play bills. This would necessarily bring him into close touch with the players, and to suppose that he was at the same time openly robbing, or trying to rob, them, is unreasonable. Some ground for suspecting Roberts seemed to be offered by the occurrence of the words 'Printed by J. Roberts' on the title-pages of editions of *The Merchant of Venice* and *Midsummer Nights Dream* bearing the same date (1600) as those which he printed respectively for Thomas Heyes and Thomas Fisher; but now that (I hope I may say) it has been proved that these editions were not printed by him and only came into existence nineteen years later, there is nothing to hinder us from regarding him as an agent for the players, a part very well suited to the printer of their bills. When therefore we find that on four occasions Roberts entered plays on the Stationers' Register with a proviso that they should not be printed until he had produced better authority, instead of regarding him as a would-be pirate baffled by the exceptional caution of the authorities at Stationers' Hall, we may admit the probability that he was entering them in the interest of the players in order to postpone their publication

till it could not injure the run of the play and to make the task of the pirates more difficult[1].

With the entries by Roberts we must mention two still more significant ones under the heading 'My lord Chamberlens mens plaies Entred.' The first of these is undated, and registers *A moral of clothe breches and velvet hose*, and an *Allarum to London*, with side-notes referring to the entries by Roberts on 27th and 29th May [1600] quoted above; the second, dated '4 Augusti,' reads:

> As you like yt, a booke
> Henry the ffift, a booke
> Every man in his humour, a booke
> The Commedie of muche Adoo about nothing, a booke
>
> } to be staied.

Here we have the 'Lord Chamberlen's men' themselves taking action with the Stationers' Company direct, despite the fact that they had no status in it, to protect their own property. The fact that the Stationers permitted them to do this is significant of the influence which as the Lord Chamberlain's servants they possessed; the fact that they were driven to do it is significant also, for it shows indisputably that the danger of piracy was real, and enables us to be pretty sure that one or more acts of piracy had already been committed.

[1] On 27th July, 1598, he entered in this way *The Merchant of Venice*, 'provided it be not printed without licence first had from the Lord Chamberlain'; on 27th May, 1600, 'A moral of Cloth Breeches and Velvet Hose as it is acted by my Lord Chamberlain's servants...provided that he is not to put it in print without further and better authority,' and two days later *The Allarum to London*, 'provided that it be not printed without further authority'; lastly, on 7th February, 1603, *Troilus and Cressida* 'as it is acted by my Lord Chamberlain's men... when he hath gotten sufficient authority for it.'

That some of Shakespeare's plays were pirated we have evidence in a passage from the address in the Folio of 1623, 'To the great Variety of Readers,' which has been quoted, or quoted from, 'ad nauseam,' but which we must quote once more. 'It had bene,' write Heminge and Condell, or whoever held the pen for them:

> It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to haue bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liu'd to haue set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to haue collected & publish'd them; and so to haue publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them: euen those are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued them. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarse receiued from him a blot in his papers.

Here we have two positive statements (1) that purchasers had been 'abus'd with diuerse stolne and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors that expos'd them,' and (2) that 'even those' plays were now presented 'cur'd, and perfect of their limbes.' The whole point of the paragraph is that the pirated plays had been maimed and deformed in the process, and were now cured and perfected. While, therefore, it is good evidence of piracy, it only applies to

plays of which the Quartos have bad texts and the Folio good ones. Now the plays of which the Quarto texts are, by common consent, strikingly inferior to those of the First Folio, are:

Romeo and Juliet. Printed by John Danter, 1597.
Henry the Fifth. Printed by Thomas Creede for Tho. Millington and John Busby, 1600.
The Merry Wives of Windsor. Printed by T. C. [i.e. Thomas Creede] for Arthur Johnson, 1602.
Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. Printed for N. L. [i.e. Nicholas Ling] and John Trundell, 1603. The printer being identifiable as Valentine Sims.

To which may be added as a bad text, though excluded from the First Folio, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, printed for Henry Gosson, 1609.

Now if we put these five plays as a provisional class, marked out as such by the verdicts of Shakespeare editors holding every variety of view on the subject of piracy, and if we put on the other side all the other First Editions in Quarto, including two first editions of a different text of *Romeo and Juliet*, and a different text of *Hamlet*, are there any other marked characteristics by which the two groups are differentiated?

In the first place we find, to our comfort, that not one of the bad texts was used as a basis for printing the play in the First Folio. So that if there were no other 'Stolne and surreptitious' editions than these, the editors of the Folio were as good as their word, and had presented 'Euen those' plays which had originally been pirated 'cur'd and perfect of their limbes.'

On the other hand, of the fourteen texts in our other class no fewer than twelve were used as the

basis of the First Folio text, the two exceptions being the *Second Part of Henry IV*, of which the Quarto prints an earlier acting version and the Folio a later one, and *Othello*, of which the Quarto was only published in 1622, when the arrangements for the First Folio must have been already made.

In the second place, we note that not one of the five plays in what (for convenience and without prejudice) we may call the pirated group was entered on the Stationers' Register by its publishers, although Arthur Johnson was clever enough to get a man of straw to enter the *Merry Wives* and assign it to him on the same day, thus securing the copyright.

On the other hand, of the fourteen plays in our other group no fewer than twelve were duly entered before publication on the Stationers' Register, the two exceptions being *Romeo and Juliet*, of which an edition 'Newly corrected, augmented, and amended' was published by Cuthbert Burby in 1599, and *Loves Labors Lost*, of which an edition 'Newly corrected and augmented' had been published, also by Burby, the previous year. As a licence was only required for new books the existence of a previous (pirated) edition enabled Burby to save his sixpence in the case of *Romeo and Juliet*, and it seems more than probable that his similar saving in the case of *Loves Labors Lost* and also the words on the title-page 'Newly corrected and augmented' are to be explained by Danter having published a pirated edition of this also, though no trace of it now remains.

On 22nd January, 1607, both *Romeo and Juliet* and *Loves Labors Lost* were entered as the copies of Nicholas Ling 'by direccõn of a Court and with consent of Master Burby in wrytinge.' Thus all the

fourteen good texts were eventually entered on the Register. On these grounds it is submitted that an entry in the Stationers' Register may be taken as *prima facie* evidence that a play was honestly purchased from the players to whom it belonged, while the absence of an entry or entry and immediate transfer, as in the case of the *Merry Wives*, points to a play being printed without the players' leave, or in other words 'pirated.'

In the light of this evidence let us now try to reconstruct the story of the publication of Shakespeare's plays in Quarto. On 6th February, 1594, soon after the time that many plays were being sold, as we must believe, by the players owing to the theatres being closed because of the plague, John Danter entered *Titus Andronicus* for his copy, and before the end of the year printed an edition which was sold by Edward White and Thomas Millington. Whether this should be reckoned a Shakespeare Quarto or not, literary critics must decide; but as it was printed as his in the Folio of 1623 it comes within our survey. In 1597 Danter, who had in the intervening three years gone down in the world (his press had been seized in 1596), printed a pirated edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, and very probably a similarly pirated edition of *Loves Labors Lost*. Finding themselves thus attacked, the players, lest more plays should go the same way, sold to Andrew Wise the right to print three of Shakespeare's Chronicles, *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *Henry IV*, *Part I*. On Danter's death, or possibly a little earlier on his damning himself past redemption by pirating the *Grammar and Accidence*, they gave Cuthbert Burby, whom we must regard as the first of their

confidential publishers, good texts of *Loves Labors Lost* and *Romeo and Juliet*, which he brought out in 1598 and 1599, thereby regaining the copyright. About the same time, on 22nd July, 1598, they instructed James Roberts, the printer of their play-bills, to prevent the piracy of *The Merchant of Venice* by entering it on the Stationers' Register with the proviso 'that yt bee not printed by the said James Robertes or anye other whatsoever without lycence first had from the Right honorable the lord Chamberlen.'

In 1600 the Chamberlain's men apparently had reason to fear piracy, and at the same time, owing to the Order in Council of 22nd June restricting their performances to two a week, were more inclined to sell. They therefore themselves, on 4th August, 'stayed' *As you like it*, *Henry V*, and *Much ado about Nothing*, only to find that *Henry V* had already been pirated by Thomas Millington and John Busby. *As you like it* they prevented from being printed at all, but they sold *Much Ado* to Andrew Wise and William Aspley, and with it *The second part of Henry IV*. They also sold the *Midsummer Night's Dream* to Thomas Fisher and sanctioned the *Merchant of Venice* being published by Thomas Heyes, the printing of this (and of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* also) being given to their play-bill printer, James Roberts, who had previously stayed for them the *Merchant of Venice*.

In January, 1602, when the Chamberlain's men were still in disgrace for having acted *Richard II* before the partisans of the Earl of Essex, John Busby the elder, who had previously pirated *Henry V*, successfully repeated the trick in the case of the *Merry*

Wives of Windsor, entering it on the Register on 18th January, and transferring it on the same day to Arthur Johnson. In the following July James Roberts entered on the Register *The Revenge of Hamlet*, and on 7th February, 1603, *Troilus and Cressida*, in the latter case with the old proviso 'to print when he hath gotten sufficient aucthority for it.' Roberts never printed *Troilus and Cressida* at all, and probably had no intention of printing *Hamlet*. Printed it was, however, though not (as has been believed) by him, but by Valentine Sims, and published by N. L. (i.e. Nicholas Ling) and John Trundell some time in 1603, or before Lady-Day, 1604. In this case the players seem to have condoned the attack, and Ling was allowed to publish a revised edition, which was printed for him by Roberts, and shortly afterwards took over the Shakespeare copyrights which had belonged to Cuthbert Burby.

After this Shakespeare's company, now the King's Majesty's Servants, had some years' freedom from piracy, partly owing to the fact that the censorship of plays was now more severe, and before entry in the Stationers' Register they had to be licensed by the censor, Sir George Buc. Being in the sunshine of the King's favour, and protected from piratical attack, they had no need to sell plays, and withheld them from the press much more rigorously. Nevertheless, on 26th November, 1607, *King Lear* was registered for their copy by Nathaniel Butter and John Busby in a singularly long and pompous entry, and duly printed from a playhouse copy the next year. It seems clear that the King's players consented to this, and yet as John Busby (if it was Busby senior who entered the play, as seems agreed) had robbed

them twice before, and their policy was clearly against printing, it seems improbable that they did so willingly. I venture to hazard the suggestion that Busby may have been in a position to annoy them by reprinting the old play of *King Leir* (with an 'i'), which Simon Stafford, a printer frequently in trouble, had entered and printed when *Lear* (with an 'a') was first being acted in 1605. It is interesting to note that in the following May (20th May, 1608), Roberts being no longer in business, Edward Blount, subsequently the publisher of the First Folio, registered *Pericles* and *Anthony and Cleopatra*, and thereafter showed no more eagerness to publish them than Roberts had done in the case of *Troilus*.

As it happened, *Troilus* was the next play to appear, being re-entered on 28th January, 1609, to Richard Bonion and Henry Walleys and printed the same year. It seems not impossible that this edition was permitted by the players at Shakespeare's request in continuance of an old feud with George Chapman, who was then about to publish the first twelve books of his translation of the *Iliad*. On the other hand, despite Blount's precautionary entry, 'The late and much admired Play called Pericles, Prince of Tyre' was pirated in 1609 by Henry Gosson, a small publisher, who dealt chiefly in ballads, broadsides, and other popular literature. According to Thomas Heywood, it was a little before this that some of his plays had been 'coppied by the eare,' and had their plot drawn by stenography, 'scarce one word trew,' and *Pericles* seems to have come into the hands of Gosson in some such manner, let us hope 'accidentally.'

Finally, in 1622 Thomas Walkley thought it

worth while, and was allowed to print *Othello* separately in Quarto, when the great Folio was already in progress, and this brings to a close our story. In this we show the players selling plays when they cannot act them, attacked by a pirate, selling more old plays and trying to safeguard others by precautionary entries. Attacked again, when in disgrace at Court, they again resort to selling and staying. After five years' immunity we find them, in 1608 and 1609, selling *King Lear* (perhaps to a blackmailer), once more resorting to precautionary entries, losing *Pericles*, and then regaining control of their property, and suffering no more losses. Is not this a more probable picture than that which represents men like Burby, Roberts, and Blount as playing the pirates' game, and the servants of the Lord Chamberlain and of the King's Majesty himself as sitting down tamely under their attacks?

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

IN our last paper we tried to reconstruct, in a reasonable and human manner, the story of how the Company of Players to which Shakespeare belonged met, as best they could, the successive attempts to pirate his plays. We found them after each piracy trying to protect certain plays, presumably those which they were then acting, by causing them to be entered on the Stationers' Register, so that no pirate should be able to obtain the copyright of them. That these entries in several instances were not followed by the appearance of an edition seemed to justify us in believing that their sole object was to defeat the pirates. On the other hand when the company had in their possession plays still saleable, but not being performed, still more when the theatre was closed owing to plague, or the number of performances was restricted in deference to Puritan complaints, we held that it might have been good business to sell plays to the best advantage, more especially if the pirates had been busy and there was any uncertainty as to what plays they had got hold of. We submitted on these lines that the company sold during Elizabeth's reign and the first year of James I eight plays by Shakespeare to friendly publishers, and in three other cases asserted their rights after a piracy by putting out better texts. After their position as the King's servants was secured they were only induced by special reasons in each case to permit the publication

of *Lear* and *Troilus*, and just before the appearance of the Folio of 1623 sanctioned a quarto edition of *Othello*. Altogether they handed over to the printers the texts of fourteen plays. We have now to consider, from our bibliographical standpoint, what sort of texts these were, and what usually happened to a playwright's manuscript from the moment that it first left his hand to the time when it was used to light a fire or play some mysterious part in baking mackerel or lining a pie.

From the bibliographical standpoint a play of Shakespeare's is not a masterpiece of dramatic poetry, but so many sheets of paper with so much writing on them, by the aid of which actors had to say their words, and subsequently printers had to reproduce what the author wrote. After which, if the actors continued to say their words and the play was reprinted, more or less frequently, the bibliographer wants to know with what aids this process went on. When we have done our best by piecing together evidence from different quarters, and in default of evidence by supposing everyone to have taken as little trouble and gone to as little expense as possible, whatever story we are able to construct will at best be the story of an average or normal play, and how far it applies accurately to the case of any individual play or plays in which we are interested is a matter on which there may or may not be specific evidence. We must walk humbly in this matter; but it is not humility but laziness to give up any attempt to reconstruct what happened, because the task is difficult and we know that we can only attain partial success. Every editor of an old text is constantly, whether he realizes it or not, making various assumptions as to

what happened in its progress from manuscript to print and from one edition to another, and to force ourselves to think out the whole process should at least give us a keener perception as to whether our assumptions are bibliographically possible or impossible.

A playwright has written a play for the Chamberlain's men. It will be better not to call the playwright Shakespeare before we are obliged, because we so often unconsciously assume that Shakespeare must always have been regarded as a person of special importance and his writings have been in some way specially treated, whereas when his plays first began to be printed it was apparently not thought worth while to put his name on their title-pages. Our anonymous playwright then has sold a play to the Chamberlain's men. Was that manuscript likely to have been in his own handwriting or a scrivener's? If it had been written for the company which Henslowe exploited the scrivener would be ruled out by the fact that the playwright, or playwrights, would have been paid so little and that, not improbably, by small advances, that they would certainly have grudged the scrivener his fee. In the case of the Chamberlain's men, who paid better and attracted the best writers, the weightiest objection to the scrivener would be the increased chance of piracy. If a scrivener were employed to make one copy, he might take the opportunity of making two. As it was, the players were exposed to some risks; for Greene was accused by the author of *A Defence of Cony-Catching*, 1592 (sig. c 3) of having sold his *Orlando Furioso* for twenty nobles to the Queen's players, and then, when they were in the country, to the Admiral's

men for as much more, and Heywood asserts that some playwrights reserved a copy to sell to the booksellers behind the players' backs. However this may be, the scrivener would certainly have introduced a fresh possibility of loss.

As a basis for our doubts as to whether dramatists as a rule handed their plays to the companies in fair copies written for them by scriveners, we are not restricted to these *à priori* arguments. On 13th November, 1613, we find the industrious, but ever impecunious Daborne writing to Henslowe as to his tragedy on Machiavelli:

> You accuse me with the breach of promise: trew it is I promysed to bring the last scean, which that you may see finished I send you the foul sheet & the fayr I was wrighting, as your man can testify, which if great busines had not prevented I had this night fynished...Howsoever I will not fayle to write this fayr and perfit the book, which shall not ly on your hands. (*Henslowe Papers*, ed. W. W. Greg, article 89, page 78.)

Here we see Daborne acting as his own copyist, making up the book of the play by instalments, as he found time, and sending his rough copy in advance when Henslowe grew impatient. It would be interesting to have this autograph manuscript and see what it looks like. Unfortunately it has not been preserved, but several plays by other contemporaries of Shakespeare have come down to us in their authors' own handwriting, and when we examine some of these two very important points come to light: (i) that, contrary to what might have been expected, the players were able to obtain the verdict of the Master of the Revels as to whether a play might be publicly acted, or not, by submitting to him the play as written

by the author, or authors, sometimes in pretty rough manuscript, and with passages written on slips and pasted in; and (ii) that, again contrary to what might have been expected, plays endorsed with the licence for their public performance might be handed over to the prompter, and by him converted into prompt copies, without the 'play-house scrivener,' if such a person existed, being given a chance.

There are at the British Museum at least three plays extant in the autograph of their author or authors which also bear the endorsement of the Master of the Revels or his Deputy. These are:

(i) *The Book of Sir Thomas Moore*, of which Anthony Munday acted as the scribe, his manuscript probably including the work of other authors, while one of the additions is certainly in the hand of Dekker, and another almost certainly in that of Shakespeare. The signed play by Munday, *John à Kent and John à Cumber*, from which his writing in the 'Moore' manuscript was identified has part of its last leaf torn away, so that an endorsement may possibly have been written on this also.

(ii) Massinger's *Believe as you list* (1631).

(iii) *The Lancheinge of the Mary or the Seaman's Honest Wife*, a curious play in praise of the East India Company, by W. M., identified as William Mountford, with whose handwriting it agrees. This is endorsed by Sir Henry Herbert, 27 June, 1633.

Another play in the same manuscript (Egerton, 1994), as the last[1], *The Lady Mother* (confidently

[1] Since the first edition of these Lectures this Egerton Manuscript has been made the subject of an important article by Mr F. S. Boas printed in *The Library* (3rd series. Vol. VIII. 225–239). Mr Boas has shown that the fifteen plays it contains were almost certainly brought together by the

assigned by Mr Arthur Bullen to Glapthorne) is endorsed by William Blagrave, Herbert's deputy, 15th October, 1635, and appears to have been written out by a scrivener and corrected by the author.

The Book of Sir Thomas Moore has the name of an actor, Goodale, substituted for that of the part he plays, but the changes required by the licenser were so drastic that Dr Greg may well be right in believing that the idea of acting the play had to be abandoned, and if this is so we must attribute the use of Goodale's name to the author of this section of the play rather than to the prompter. Both *The Lancheinge of the Mary* and *The Lady Mother* are certainly prompt copies, and two other manuscript plays in the British Museum show clear signs of having passed through the hands both of the licenser and prompter. One of these, *Sir John Barnevelt* (Add. 18653), attributed to Fletcher and Massinger, has a sidenote beginning 'I like not this,' signed G. B., i.e., Sir George Buc, while the *Second Maidens Tragedy* in Lansdowne 807 owes its title to Buc, and

younger William Cartwright, actor and bookseller, who in 1635 was a member of the Revels Company, with which four of the plays can be connected by the occurrence in them of the names of minor actors instead of those of the characters which they represent. Two of these plays, *Edmund Ironsides* and a version of *Richard II*, Mr Boas attributes on the ground of style to 1590–1595, and another, Heywood's *The Captives*, had been acted by the Cockpit company in October, 1624. In the case of plays written so many years earlier and which still held the stage we should hardly expect the prompt-copy to be the original manuscript. It will be noted that the *Lancheinge of the Mary* and *The Lady Mother*, on which author, licenser and prompter seem all to have left their mark, were first brought out when the younger Cartwright was already a member of the company, and so had not had time enough to get worn out and replaced. The other plays in the volume have not yet been fully examined.

bears his licence for its representation dated 1611. Both manuscripts were undoubtedly afterwards used as prompt copies.

This being the best light we can obtain as to the theatrical custom, have we any special information in the case of Shakespeare's plays? As we have seen, a curious vein of pessimism has caused many scholars, especially during the last thirty years, to enlarge the reference, in the preface to the First Folio, to 'diuerse stolne and surreptitious copies' from a verifiable statement, that even such plays as had been maimed in the quartos were presented in sound texts, into a general accusation casting the slur of surreptitiousness on all the quartos indiscriminately. On the other hand, save as a peg on which Ben Jonson hung a characteristic criticism, very little importance seems to be attached to the remarkable statement at the end of the same paragraph which, after praise of Shakespeare as 'a happie imitator of Nature' and 'a most gentle expresser of it,' proceeds 'His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarse receiued from him a blot on his papers.'

The importance of this statement, the justification for calling it remarkable, is that, if it has any meaning at all, it implies two things: first, that the Folio editors, as members of Shakespeare's Company, had received from him 'his papers,' i.e. autograph manuscripts of at least some of his plays; and secondly, that these autograph manuscripts were not 'fair copies,' such as Daborne and other authors were in the habit of delivering, but the text of the plays as he first wrote them down. Unless the papers were first drafts the claim made on Shakespeare's behalf on the

ground of the absence of blots becomes ridiculous. The absence of blots from a scrivener's copy would prove nothing at all; therefore the papers must have been autograph. The absence of blots from an autograph 'fair' copy might be instanced as a proof of the writer's neatness, or accuracy, or willingness to take trouble, or even his affection for his fellows, and so forth; but by no logical gymnastics could it be quoted as a basis for the assertion that his mind and hand went together and what he thought he uttered with this 'easinesse' that is held up to admiration. Therefore, if the statement is to be allowed any meaning, the papers were not fair copies, but the original drafts.

The address in the First Folio 'to the great Variety of Readers,' from which we have been quoting, is a very tradesmanlike advertisement. The book 'is now publique,' Heminge and Condell write,

> & you wil stand for your priuiledges wee know: to read and censure. Do so, but buy it first. That doth best commend a Booke, the Stationer saies. Then, how odde soeuer your braines be, or your wisedomes, make your licence the same, and spare not. Judge your sixe-pen'orth, your shillings worth, your five shillings worth at a time, or higher, so you rise to the iust rates, and welcome. But, what euer you do, Buy. Censure will not driue a Trade, or make the Jacke go.

This is poor enough stuff to offer some justification for regarding whatever follows as mere advertisement, and when we turn to the Dedication 'to the most noble and incomparable paire of Brethren,' the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, its heavy servility may confirm our ill impression. No doubt

a handsome present was expected from the 'incomparable paire,' and the writers were ready to call Shakespeare's plays 'trifles' and make 'humble offer' of them to the dedicatees in order to get it. 'We haue observed,' they tell them naively, 'no man to come neere your Lordships but with a kind of religious address,' and customs having changed, their attempt to assume this 'religious' attitude repels us. But with a little sympathy we can understand both the advertisement and the obsequiousness, and arrive at a juster estimate of Heminge and Condell. The First Folio, with nearly a thousand pages of double-columned small type was a heavy venture for all concerned in it, and to obtain influential patronage and suggest to well-wishers quips by which they might shame the recalcitrant into buying may have seemed necessary business precautions. They should not make us doubt the sincerity of the assurance that the editors had taken up their task 'without ambition either of selfe-profit or fame: onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend & Fellow aliue, as was our Shakespeare.' There is a ring of real affection about this phrase, which makes it incredible that the men who used it should on the next page have picked out a literary characteristic of Shakespeare's only to lie about it. So when Heminge and Condell[1] write: 'His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that we haue scarse receiued from him a blot on his papers,' we shall do well to believe that the autograph manu-

[1] Even if it should be proved beyond contradiction that the prefatory matter in the First Folio was written not by Heminge and Condell, but for them, the argument in this paragraph would hardly be affected, as a statement of this kind must surely have been inserted from their information.

scripts of some at least[1] of Shakespeare's plays had passed through the hands of Heminge and Condell, and that these contained the texts as they were first written down in the moment of composition.

On the authority of the editors of the First Folio we are thus justified in believing that Shakespeare, like Munday and Daborne and Massinger and other dramatists, brought his plays to the theatre in his own autograph. Heminge and Condell may only have seen the manuscripts of the later plays, but if Shakespeare avoided the scriveners when he was already rich and piracy had greatly abated, it is highly improbable that he employed them in his early days when the danger from piracy was much greater. In the absence of evidence to the contrary in the case of any individual play there is thus a bibliographical

[1] It has been pointed out that the title of the First Folio ('Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories & Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies') and still more the half-title ('The Workes of William Shakespeare, containing all his Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies: Truely set forth, according to their first *Originall*) suggest, and were probably intended to suggest, more than this 'some at least.' It is even argued that since they fraudulently suggest more than we can believe to be literally true, therefore all the editors' statements on the subject must be dismissed as untrustworthy. It seems to me equally unsound to press a seventeenth century's editor's or publisher's statement, as it might be legitimate to press a twentieth century one, so as to make it responsible for the extreme limit of what it seems to say, and to treat it as meaning nothing at all. Putting aside the point that the title and half-title may exhibit Ed. Blount liberally interpreting the assurances of Heminge and Condell, I think the statements mean that a real effort had been made to correct the corruptions of the later quartos and to substitute good texts for the pirated ones, and I think that in this sense they are true. But they have not the personal note which I find in the reference to Shakespeare's 'papers.'

presumption that it reached the players in the author's original autograph manuscript.

But in the case of other plays we have examined we find that the original manuscript was taken to the Master of the Revels for his consent to its being publicly acted, and that when this consent was endorsed on it the same manuscript was used as a prompt-copy. If this course was followed in the case of Shakespeare's manuscripts our case is complete, for there is a considerable body of evidence, which is as strong as regards some of Shakespeare's plays as any others, that when a play was printed by anyone except a pirate, it was the text of the prompt-copy that was set up. The evidence consists in the survival of stage-directions of a certain kind, and to explain it we must set forth the different sources from which the annotations which we lump together under this general name, stage-directions, could take their rise.

In writing out a play, for his own convenience as well as that of the players, a dramatist would naturally insert exits and entrances, in order to show who at any moment was on the stage. He might also, though as to this there was no uniformity, describe any action with which the player was to accompany his words. Possibly in some cases, if he were familiar with the theatre, he might use the same technical language as a prompter, so that Shakespeare himself, in the scene in the wood in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, may have written the directions, 'Enter a Faerie at one doore and Robin goodfellow at another,' 'Enter the King of Fairies at one doore, with his traine; and the Queen at another with hers,' the 'doors,' of course, being those of the stage, not of the wood. Moreover, as Mr Greg has pointed

out with reference to *Sir Thomas Moore*, the playwright would be almost as likely as the prompter to substitute the name of the actor for whom a part had been written for that of the part itself. In any case, however, when the manuscript reached the playhouse the prompter would go over it and insert in the margin any further directions needed for the performance, more especially as to the provision of stage properties or as to music, shouts, knocks, or other noises to be made in the room behind the stage, which was compendiously indicated by the word 'within.' For our present purpose, if the author's manuscript became the prompt-copy, whether any given direction was made by author or prompter is all one.

When a play was put into print the prompter's notes, whether written by himself or the author, as distinct from the descriptive notes, should in all cases have been either omitted or translated into descriptive phrases. Fairly often, however, one or more in a play is printed in its original form, and thus betrays the nature of the copy from which the printed text was set up. Thus, in the 1599 Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, although in Act I. Scene iv. we get the descriptive note 'Musick playes and they dance,' later on in the play we get such characteristic prompter's notes as 'Enter Romeo and Juliet aloft. Play Musicke'; or again, 'Enter Will Kemp' (the name of an actor, here substituted for his part), and 'Whistle boy.' So in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, besides the directions as to the 'doors' at which the fairies are to enter in the wood, in III. ii. 85 we find the prompter's reminder to Demetrius, 'Ly down.' So also in *Much Ado about Nothing*, we find

the names of the actors Kemp and Cowley, and in the *Second Part of Henry IV* that of Sincklo, substituted for the characters they had to play.

In the plays first printed in the Folio, in those at the beginning of each of the three sections Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, the prompter's notes have usually been edited away; but in other plays we find several instances of the substitution of actors' names for their parts, and 'within' is almost uniformly used for anything done behind the scenes, so that in the Porter's speech in *Macbeth*, the note 'knocking within' is applied to Macduff's knocks on the outer gate. Also in the *Second Part of Henry VI*, III. ii. 146, the prompter's note, 'Bed put forth,' reveals to us the primitive stage management, which thrust forth a bed, with Gloucester's body on it, into the middle of the stage, instead of having it ceremoniously brought in, according to the directions in modern editions, 'Exit Warwick' and 'Re-enter Warwick and Others bearing Gloucester's body on a bed.'

If, as has been shown, there is a high probability that the prompt-copy of any of Shakespeare's plays would be written in the author's autograph; and if, as has also been shown, we know that the text of many of his plays, both of those printed in Quarto and of others which first appeared in the Folio of 1623, was derived from prompt-copies, we can only escape from admitting the probability that some, at least of Shakespeare's plays were set up directly from his own manuscript by supposing that now at last the scrivener was given a job, and that a scrivener's copy intervened between the printer and Shakespeare's autograph.

It may be said in support of this supposition that

if the players had handed over the actual prompt-copy to be printed they would have been left with no text of their own save such as could be reconstructed from the actors' parts. But the force of this objection is broken by the clear evidence which can be produced that copies of authorized Quartos were used in the theatre as prompt-copies. Thus, in the Folio text of *Much Ado about Nothing*, set up from the Quarto of 1600, while the substitution of the names of the actors Kemp and Wilson for Dogberry and Verges is retained, in Act II. scene iii. we find in the stage direction 'Enter Prince, Leonato, Claudio, and Jacke Wilson,' the name of Wilson, the singing man of the company, freshly substituted for that of Balthasar, who has to sing 'Sigh no more, ladies.' In the same way, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, for which the reprint of 1619 (dated 1600) was used for the Folio, this had clearly been used in the theatre, as two new and very obvious prompter's directions have crept in, namely in III. i. 116, 'Enter Piramus [i.e. Bottom] with the Asse-head' (where only the prompter, who knew that there was only one Ass-head in the playhouse stock of properties, would have written '*the* Asse-head' instead of '*an* Ass-head' as in modern editions), and again in V. i. 134, where the direction for the entry of the clowns is preceded by the note 'Tawyer with a trumpet before them.'

A Shakespeare Quarto could easily have been printed in a month if the printer employed a journeyman and a fairly advanced apprentice, so that if the players saw the superior convenience of a printed prompt-copy, and were not (as we may be sure) acting the plays at the time they sold them, no in-

convenience would have arisen from their parting with their manuscript prompt-copy to the printer.

Another objection which suggests itself is that the players would be bound to keep in their archives the manuscript signed by the 'Master of the Revels,' in case they should be challenged for departing from the text approved. This seems to ignore the easy temper of English officialdom at all periods. A Spanish censor must needs have a notary initial every page of the manuscript submitted to him. Tilney, or Buc, or Herbert were content to write their licence at the end of the manuscripts already altered and added to, in some cases with slips containing additions pasted on to a leaf. By the time a play had been on the stage a year or two challenge would become less probable, and the fact that it had been licensed for printing should have been an ample answer. Even that grasping person, Sir Henry Herbert, when asked to re-license *The Winter's Tale* for revival in August, 1623, on Heminge reporting that the 'allowed book' (possibly the original manuscript) was missing, but giving his word 'that there was nothing prophane added or reformed' (*sic*), returned the play without a fee. On the other hand, it is intrinsically probable that, for obtaining the original licence to print, production of the signed manuscript would have been helpful even in Elizabeth's day, while in the next century this was probably indispensable.

On the whole, then, it seems reasonable to believe that in the case of a play printed after having been regularly entered in the Stationers' Register there is a high probability that a prompt-copy would be supplied to the printer; and there is a further high probability that such a prompt-copy would be the

manuscript handed over to the players by the author; and yet a further high probability that this manuscript would be in the author's autograph. The highest probability is only a large fraction of a complete proof, and when three fractions are multiplied together they diminish very rapidly. It would need the odds in each case to be as four to one to leave us at the end of our three probabilities with anything more than an even chance. Perhaps it will be wise not to claim more than this even chance that the text of any given play reached the printer of the Quarto in Shakespeare's autograph; but in view of Heminge and Condell's statement as to the receipt of Shakespeare's 'papers,' the use of other autograph manuscripts for prompt-copies, the evidence that quartos of Shakespeare's plays were based on prompt-copies, and the occurrence of new traces of the prompter's hand in the First Folio text of plays printed from Quartos, there does not seem any reason why we should claim less than this.

It will probably be said that a claim which invites the belief that even half of the fourteen regularly entered Shakespeare Quartos were set up direct from Shakespeare's autograph manuscripts proves too much, because the texts of these first editions contain too many mistakes to stand in such immediate contact with their source. Not a few of these mistakes would be explained if we may believe, as it has been contended we should, that Shakespeare supplied the players not with revised copies, but with treacherously clean-looking rough ones. We have yet, moreover, to reckon with the Elizabethan printer, and the more closely we study the ways of Elizabethan printers, when employed on dramatic work, the more highly

we shall rate his capacity for introducing any number of errors into the text supplied to him.

It has long been a commonplace among the textual critics of Shakespeare that in every Quarto edition subsequent to the First new mistakes are introduced, so that the text becomes progressively worse. In an extreme case, that of a probably hasty reprint of *Richard II*, taking the acceptance or rejection of a reading by the Cambridge editors as definitely marking it as right or wrong, a second quarto has been found to add about 180 per cent. of new errors to those originally made, so that it is nearly three times as incorrect. The case is exceptional, and it must also be remembered that although reprinting a reprinted edition is easier, and should therefore give a more correct result than printing from manuscript copy, as a matter of fact the very easiness of their task often makes compositors and correctors careless. It is also possible, or rather certain, that there are mistakes in the First Quartos which, because they leave the line in which they occur still intelligible, no one has suspected. In view, however, of the ceaseless stream of new errors poured into the text as first printed in every new edition, it is not possible to say in the case of an average First Quarto, duly entered on the Stationers' Register, that the blunders in it cannot all have been due to the printers, but that we must postulate the intervention of one or more copyists to share the blame. The proved inaccuracy of the printers suffices to account for all the faults.

We are not entirely dependent on the judgment of the Cambridge editors in estimating the blunder-making capacity of these printers. As is well known,

in several plays of Shakespeare, and of Ben Jonson and other authors also, individual pages are found in two different states, one with certain errors in them, the other with these errors corrected. Where there is only one, or perhaps two, readings in question, it is possible in some cases that instead of speaking of an error and a correction we ought to speak of a right reading and a corruption, because it is certain that the inking-balls sometimes pulled one or more letters out of the forme, and that mistakes were made by these being incorrectly replaced. More commonly, however, and in some cases quite certainly, we can see that the pressmen had begun printing off a page before it had been fully corrected, and that on the master printer (who in a small printing-house, would usually act as his own corrector) coming in, the press was stopped and his corrections introduced in all the impressions of the page which remained to be pulled. Now on different impressions of one page of the first quarto of *Richard II* there are four, and on another as many as five, of these uncorrected and corrected readings. On B verso a word is omitted, a letter is added, and in two cases one word is substituted for another. On B_3 verso a word and a hyphen are omitted, a letter is omitted, one word is substituted for another, and two words caught from a previous line displace two others. That shows us what an Elizabethan compositor could do when his master was out. By the Cambridge standard the number of detected errors in the First Quarto of *Richard II* is less than one a page. Left to themselves, the compositors were capable of multiplying this four-fold, and we cannot tell how often this happened. That is a gloomy thought, and we are bound to

remember that in the case of these two pages in *Richard II* the corrector did come back before the impression was completed, and was conscientious enough to stop the press to put things right as far as he could. But if any one contends that Elizabethan compositors could not have made the errors found in First Quartos without the help of copyists, it is well to bear in mind these instances of his error-making capacity.

We are thus emboldened to persist in our contention that in some cases Shakespeare's own autograph of a play may have been the copy supplied to its first printer, resting our case now on the four points: (i) that the manuscripts handed to the players were in Shakespeare's autograph; (ii) that in other cases we find an autograph manuscript used as a prompt-copy; (iii) that at least some of the First Quartos were set up from prompt-copies; (iv) that the proved inaccuracy of the printers allows us to assume an original quite as free from faults as an autograph copy supplied by Shakespeare was likely to be.

From the Quartos to the First Folio.

As regards the period from the first publication of a duly registered Quarto to the appearance of a play in the Folio of 1623, no editor, as far as I am aware, has ever propounded a formal theory that readings which appear for the first time in the later Quartos are based upon either a fresh consultation of the MS. already used, or access to a new one. As will be emphasized in our last paper, on 'the Improvers of Shakespeare,' editors have concerned themselves unnecessarily with the readings of the later Quartos and have admitted too many readings from them into their

text: but they have done this rather on some muddle-headed plea that it all happened a long time ago, that the particular circumstances are very obscure, and that we must take good where we find it and be thankful, than with even the smallest attempt to show how any new authority was obtained. If an eighteenth century editor had had the courage to say that 'the Printer of the First Edition, fearing that he had not done Justice to the Untutored Charm of his Author, had kept the original MS. by him in the hope of Improving his Performance in another edition,' some one would doubtless have dealt satisfactorily with that editor before now. Surely he would have been confronted with a conspectus of all the changes introduced into any given second edition, and in the utter impossibility of contending that the performance as a whole had been improved, that it had not on the contrary been in every way worsened and depraved, a confession might have been extracted that the later Quartos could have had no other source for their most plausible readings than the wits of their own printers; for the press-correctors of these Quartos did undoubtedly use their wits in correcting blunders they found in the first editions, and sometimes with good success. The causes, however, of the great bulk of the variants introduced into the later Quartos seem to be those common to all copying and more especially the trick of carrying too many words at a time in the head. It has lately been pointed out to me by a master-printer that this tendency is especially active, and therefore especially dangerous, in reprinting from a printed text, in which the eye easily takes in a whole line at a glance, whereas the setting of the line would be a work of minutes, during

which it would be easy for the memory to play tricks with one or more words. Besides these, of course, there are the usual transposition of letters, substitution of one letter for another, and other errors to which careless printers are liable. Not all of the printers of Quartos deserve to be stigmatized as careless; but many of them were very careless indeed.

When we come to the First Folio and begin to enquire into its relation with the Quartos, we find ourselves confronted with a series of readings which at first sight seem decisive against any new manuscripts having been available for improving the text of these plays. Anyone can make mistakes when he is careless. But when we find old blunders being hidden up by commonplace tinkering instead of the true reading being restored, it seems a fair inference, since the tinkerers were obviously wide awake and taking trouble, that the producers of the First Folio were driven to tinker because no other course was possible, i.e. because they had no independent authority at hand by which a real correction could be made.

These cases arise where the text of a First Quarto is sound, but an error has been introduced in the second or some later one, and the reading of the First Folio is obviously a tinkering of this error. A couple of instances of this kind may be quoted from among the examples of progressive corruption cited by Malone in his admirable preface in 1790.

In 1 *Henry IV.*, V. iii. 11, Blunt answers the threats of Douglas with the words:

> I was not born a yielder, thou proud Scot.

In the Quarto of 1613 the printer substituted for

the three syllables 'a yielder' the two syllables 'to yield,' thus producing the unmetrical line:

I was not born to yield, thou proud Scot.

In the First Folio this is mended with absolute neatness by the substitution of 'haughty' for 'proud,' the line thus becoming

I was not born to yield, thou haughty Scot.

If the Quarto of 1613 had disappeared this reading might have held its own, against that of the First Quarto, as a genuine alternative obtained from a new manuscript. But with the nine-syllabled line already in evidence in the Quarto of 1613 we can see that the line has been cleverly botched, and that instead of suggesting the existence of an alternative manuscript, it is strong evidence that no authoritative text was available, and therefore botching had to be resorted to.

Again in the first Quarto of *Richard III.*, I. i. 63–65, Richard assures Clarence:

'Tis not the king that sends you to the Tower:
My lady Grey his wife, Clarence, 'tis she
That tempers him to this extremity.

In the last of these lines the later quartos substituted the monosyllable 'tempts' for the dissyllable 'tempers,' thus reducing it to

That tempts him to this extremity.

In the Folio the line is eked out to its proper length by the interpolation of an adjective, giving us:

That tempts him to this harsh extremity.

With the history of the line before him no one can doubt that this is botching or tinkering, and it is a

perfectly sound inference that the botcher or tinker in question cannot have had easy access to a manuscript recording the true reading, or he would not have cudgelled his brains with this sorry result.

We must not, however, underrate the complexity of the problem with which we are dealing.

Where a duly registered quarto had been published, the text of the First Folio was usually, though not always, set up from the latest edition of this on the market, this being of course the easiest and cheapest way of supplying the printer with copy.

But in almost every case the Folio text supplies a number of new readings, which, like most other things in the world, may be quite accurately classified under the three headings good, bad, and indifferent.

By a 'Good' reading in this classification is meant a reading undoubtedly Shakespeare's. By a 'Bad' reading, one that is undoubtedly not Shakespeare's, but either belongs to the class of the Folio readings botched up out of the errors of the later Quartos at which we have just been looking, or is an obvious misprint. Lastly, 'Indifferent' readings are those which may be a little better aesthetically than their alternatives, or a little worse; but which, because they make sense and grammar and scan, and crop up mostly in what may be called the lower levels of Shakespeare's verse, we cannot treat as impossible, while it is equally clear that we cannot treat them as possessing any certainty in their own right. If we can find ground for believing that the text of any play first printed in quarto was revised *as a whole* by the aid of a good manuscript, then for these indifferent readings we must follow the text of the Folio. If on

the other hand no such revision took place, then we must print them as they stand in the First Quarto.

If in the case of a given play we are to suppose that a good manuscript existed and was used in improving the text of the late Quarto, who are we to suppose had the manuscript entrusted to him and used it for this purpose?

We may rule out of consideration the person, or persons, whom we may think of as exercising the general editorship. Their task must have been to get together the material, decide what was to be printed and what not, settle the order of the plays, and carry through two specific bits of work, which required special knowledge—the division of the plays into acts and scenes and the substitution, where necessary, of descriptive notes for the imperatives of the old stage-directions. They did not complete either of these jobs—Parts 2 and 3 of *King Henry VI* seem to have been sent to the printer without any general editing of this kind whatever; several plays are only divided into acts, not into scenes, and imperative stage-directions are found sporadically—and as the general editors obviously could not find time to attend to this business, it is impossible to imagine that they had the time or the patience to attend to the collation of the text.

It is quite clear that hired aid must have been called in and that the work done by these hired helpers must have been accepted as final. That is to say, if any better text, manuscript or printed, was used in preparing that of the late Quarto for the press, the hired man corrected a copy of the late Quarto by this with as much care and skill as he had to bestow, and the copy so corrected became the sole

authority for the new text. Very probably the hired man was not engaged for proof-reading; but even if he had been, it would have been out of keeping with the whole atmosphere which surrounds the publication of Shakespeare's plays, if he had discarded the copy for which he himself was responsible, and read the proofs with the better authority which he had collated. Hence, whether the hired man of our (not unreasoned) imagination, or the press-corrector in Jaggard's printing-house had the last word in the matter, if a line were faulty in the copy prepared for press, the choice would lie between leaving it as it was and the gross botching of which instances have been given.

In the case of some plays the question to be solved may finally take the form, How far may we reasonably push our belief in the incompetence of the collator in order to explain a few good readings being introduced into the Folio text along with a crowd of bad ones? Sooner than postulate an inhumanly incompetent collator, it might be well to consider whether no source existed from which isolated good readings might be derived without any new manuscript having been available. If we can conceive of the prompter of the Globe Playhouse making haphazard manuscript corrections on his prompt-copy, we may find in this a source of exactly the kind we want. There is ample evidence (some of it has been quoted) that copies of the printed Quartos were used in the Playhouse as prompt-copies, and that these prompt-copies were used in preparing the Folio text, with the result that some of their manuscript stage-directions got into print. If a prompter could annotate a printed quarto with additional stage-directions for his own

use, there seems no reason why he should not have brought the text of his copy into some kind of occasional conformity with any variations made by the actors whom he had to prompt. The actors would presumably still have at their disposal the original acting-parts. In so far as they had learnt these correctly they would restore true readings which the First Quarto had corrupted. In so far as they had not learnt their parts correctly they would from imperfect memory make mistakes very similar to those made by printers from trying to carry too many words at a time in their heads. In the first instance (if the prompter was interested) we have an explanation of the appearance of two or three good readings in the Folio text where nothing else suggests that recourse had been had to any new authority. In the second instance (again if the prompter was interested) we may perhaps find a means for transferring to other shoulders some of the blame for the frequent substitution of one word for another which now, if we refuse to postulate a new manuscript, rests with the printer of the Folio.

If such an hypothesis as has here been sketched were accepted, the number of plays first printed in Quarto, for which we should have to call in new manuscript authority to account for the Folio text, would be small indeed. It is, however, no part of the bibliographer's work to poach on literary preserves as regards individual plays. Our business is to try to think out in terms of pieces of paper what must have happened for a reading which can be accepted as Shakespeare's to have got into the printed text, subsequently to the First Edition. In view of the licence which Elizabethan printers allowed themselves, we

must refuse to invoke manuscript authority for any changes, right or wrong, which might easily originate with the printer—with his common sense or ingenuity, if the changes may be adjudged right, with his very conspicuous carelessness if they are wrong. In the same spirit of economy we must refuse to assume the availability of a manuscript for the revision of the whole text of a play, unless adequate evidence is forthcoming that the whole text was in fact revised. As a way of escape from such extravagance the alternative has here been proposed of haphazard corrections on a printed prompt-copy. But it must be constantly borne in mind that different plays may have had different fortunes. We are bound to suppose that the players as a rule took the cheapest and safest course; but it would be rash indeed to assume that they did so invariably, and that an additional transcript was never made and preserved and came in useful in 1623. All we have tried to do in this paper is to think out the problem in general terms, and trust the application to Shakespeare's editors, who hitherto have left the bibliographical side of the problem—the passing from hand to hand of pieces of paper—very imperfectly developed. On these lines we submit that it is bibliographically probable that some of the First Quarto Editions of Shakespeare's plays were printed from the author's own autograph manuscript, which had previously been used as a prompt-copy; that the actors replaced their manuscript prompt-copy by a copy of the printed Quarto, which in its turn received additional stage-directions and also readings representing some of the variants which were adopted by individual actors; that in 1622 a copy of the last Quarto on the market

was sent to the playhouse to be roughly collated with the printed prompt-copy; and that the copy so corrected was the source of the Folio text of a normal play originally printed in a duly registered Quarto.

It may be added that in November, 1915, when this paper was read as a Sandars Lecture at Cambridge, I was applying this theory to the case of Shakespeare's *King Richard II*; readers of the introduction to the facsimile of the unique copy of the Third Quarto owned by Mr W. A. White, of New York (*A New Shakespeare Quarto*, London, Quaritch, 1916), must judge with what success.

THE IMPROVERS OF SHAKESPEARE

IN our third paper we tried to establish bibliographically what was the normal history of the text of Elizabethan plays from the time the playwright handed his manuscript to the players; we then enquired what special evidence we had in the case of Shakespeare's plays, and finally applied the theories we constructed to the history of his text down to the publication of the Folio of 1623. We shall devote the first part of this our last paper to three deductions of some importance arising out of this survey.

I. The first of these is that, from our bibliographical standpoint, the readings of any edition of a play of Shakespeare's subsequent to the First duly registered Quarto cannot have any shred of authority, unless a reasonably probable case can be made out for access having been obtained to a new manuscript, or its equivalent. And to construct such a case all the variants in the edition must be brought together and considered as a whole.

Editors of Shakespeare, even the best editors of Shakespeare, have been too ready to accept or reject variants on what they would call 'their individual merits'; and they have yielded, consciously or unconsciously, to the illusion that if a first edition printed (say) in 1597 is a good authority, a second edition printed within a year or two is also an authority, though perhaps not quite of equal weight.

A printed text cannot be invested with authority merely by an early date on its title-page. The authority can only come to it by derivation from the original manuscript, and if this derivation is simply and solely through a previous printed edition, then a reading in the second edition can have no authority whatever as against a reading in the first[1]. It may be right, as any conjectural emendation may be right; but it must be judged as a conjectural emendation, and on precisely the same footing as if it had been made a week ago.

The point is so obvious that it seems superfluous to labour it, but with the honourable exception of Malone, it has been almost uniformly neglected by Shakespeare's editors.

Theobald arranged his list of the editions known to him under the three headings:

Editions of Authority,
Editions of Middle Authority,
Editions of no Authority.

He did this, doubtless, for the pleasure of making his third class, the editions of no authority, consist

[1] There is a seeming, though not a real, exception to this rule in the case of a reading in a second edition which follows a correction introduced into the text of the first edition after part of the copies of the sheet in which it occurs had already been printed off. Thus in *Richard II*, I. ii. 70, Q^2 rightly reads 'heare' as against the misprint 'cheere' in the British Museum (Huth) and Capell copies of Q^1, and, it was only after nearly half a century of controversy that 'heare' was discovered in the Huntingdon (Devonshire) copy. If more copies of Q^1 of *Richard III* are discovered one of them should surely contain the missing line and a half (I. i. 101 *sq.*) which at present seem to have been introduced for the first time in Q^2. It will be noted that it is only in cases where the extant copies of a first quarto are very few that this curious case can arise.

of those of Rowe and Pope. His second class contained the Third Folio and the Quartos printed between 1623 and the Restoration. But how did these later quartos acquire the Middle Authority which he ascribes to them? In so far as they were accurate reprints of the First registered Quarto, if every copy of that had been destroyed they might have taken its place. But as long as that remains they are purely negligible. And this applies with almost equal completeness to most of the editions included in Theobald's highest class, as Editions of Authority. These comprise all the Quartos, of which he knew, printed before 1623, and the First and Second Folios. It would be perhaps too much to say that a Quarto of 1615 is no better than a Quarto of 1655, because the latter will certainly have accumulated some more errors, and the Quarto of 1615, moreover, may be of considerable interest in determining for a given play the value of the First Folio. But as against a reading in a First Quarto, the authority which a variant derives from having been printed within one year, ten years, or forty years of it, is in every case the same, because in every case it is *nil.*

Just as, so long as a copy of the first edition of a good Quarto exists, all the later quarto editions have no value for the construction of a text; so, as long as a copy of the First Folio remains, the three later Folios have no textual importance. In criticizing Theobald's table of editions, Dr Johnson expressed this with his usual sturdy common sense:

> In his enumeration of editions (he writes of Theobald) he mentions the two first folios as of high, and the third folio as of middle authority; but the truth is that the first

is equivalent to all [the] others, and that the rest only deviate from it by the printer's negligence. Whoever has any of the folios has all, excepting those diversities which mere reiteration of editions will produce. I collated them all at the beginning, but afterwards used only the first.

The importance of the later Quartos printed before 1623, and of the three later Folios, is purely genealogical. Had none of the later Quartos been preserved, we should have been obliged to debit to the First Folio as original errors, all the bad readings which it took over from the later Quartos. On the one hand, the credit of the Folio would have been unjustly depreciated; on the other hand, various easy readings introduced by the later Quartos would have been invested with whatever authority the Folio text for the play in which they occur may possess. But when once the errors borrowed by the Folio from the later Quartos have been eliminated, only the First Quartos and the First Folio have any textual value.

The genealogical importance of the later Folios is of much the same kind. It arises from the fact that the Fourth Folio being the easiest and cheapest to buy and also the most modern in its spelling was the copy which Rowe sent to the printer, after he had tinkered it at his pleasure. Pope used Rowe's text as his 'copy' to print from; Theobald used Pope's, and so on. It may be doubted whether any edition of Shakespeare's works (with the possible exception of Capell's) has ever been wholly printed from manuscript. That of 1623 was printed partly from manuscript, partly from the printed quartos. Probably every subsequent edition has been set up from some earlier printed text, some of the misprints in which

will almost certainly be carried over into the new edition despite editorial care. Many of the readings of the Fourth Folio were thus inadvertently adopted by Rowe, and the Fourth Folio and its two immediate predecessors are thus necessary to a right understanding of the eighteenth century texts. But it must be said again and again that as authorities for ascertaining what Shakespeare himself actually wrote, no editions can have any shred, jot or tittle of value except the First Quartos[1], and the First Folio.

While it is true that the eighteenth century editors who started the editorial tradition as to Shakespeare's text had not all the bibliographical data before them, nor even a complete set of the First Quartos, their tendency to treat all the later Quartos and later Folios as in some degree authoritative was due much less to ignorance than to their desire to improve their text. It is a little lamentable that nowhere can we find this standpoint more clearly stated than in the words of Edward Capell, to whom Shakesperian criticism is so heavily indebted.

Listen to what he writes in the Introduction to his audaciously entitled edition of 'Mr. William Shakespeare his Comedies Histories and Tragedies, set out by himself [!] in quarto, or by the Players his Fellows in folio, and now faithfully republish'd from those Editions, in ten Volumes octavo':

> It is said a little before,—that we have nothing of his in writing; that the printed copies are all that is left to guide us; and that those copies are subject to numberless

[1] Of course where there are two texts as in *Romeo and Juliet*, the First Quarto of each counts for whatever it may be worth. So also as regards the deposition scene the 1608 edition of *Richard II* counts as a First Quarto.

imperfections, but not all in like degree: our first business then, was—to examine their merit, and see on which side the scale of goodness preponderated, which we have generally found, to be on that of the most ancient: It may be seen in the Table, what Editions are judg'd to have the preference among those plays that were printed singly in quarto; and for those plays, the text of those Editions is chiefly adher'd to: in all the rest, the first folio is follow'd; the text of which is by far the most faultless of the Editions in that form; and has also the advantage in three quarto plays, in 2 *Henry IV*, *Othello* and *Richard III*.

Up to this point nothing could be more sound, and the service which Capell was rendering, in so far as he based his text on the earliest editions instead of trusting to collation to eliminate the faults of the later ones, was very great. Unhappily he proceeds:

Had the editions thus follow'd been printed with carefulness, from correct copies, and copies not added to or otherwise alter'd after those impressions, there had been no occasion for going any further: but this was not at all the case, even in the best of them; and it therefore became proper and necessary to look into the other old editions, and to select from thence whatever improves the Author, or contributes to his advancement in perfectness, the point in view throughout all this performance: that they do improve him was with the editor an argument in their favour; and a presumption of genuineness for what is thus selected, whether additions or differences of any other nature; and the causes of their appearing in some copies and being wanting in others, cannot now be discover'd, by reason of the time's distance, and defect of fit materials for making the discovery.

As if to put his method of procedure beyond any possibility of doubt, he concludes:

...Without entering further in this place into the

reasonableness or even necessity of so doing, he does for the present acknowledge,—that he has everywhere made use of such materials as he met with in other old copies, which he thought improv'd the editions that are made the ground-work of the present text (pp. 21–22).

Capell's present critic has a personal reason for being moderate in his strictures, because (some thirty years ago) moved by a laudable desire to win more readers for Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* without entering on the slippery paths of modernizing, he laboriously picked out from the seven texts published by the Chaucer Society the spellings easiest to a modern reader in every line, and thus produced an edition for the spelling of every word of which there was early manuscript authority, but which certainly did not present the words as Chaucer wrote them. Had Capell, in order to popularize Shakespeare without committing himself to wholesale tinkering, announced that he had accepted the emendations or improvements proposed by Shakespeare's contemporaries, and those only, it might still have been questioned whether what he did was worth doing, but he would not have introduced any fundamental confusion into editorial ideals. As it was, he did introduce, or at least help to perpetuate, confusion, by asserting his right to correct original editions by others that were merely old, and by the specious suggestion that the fact of a new reading being (in editorial eyes) an 'improvement' carried with it a 'presumption of genuineness.' As bibliographers we must protest that it is not mere age, but proof of independent access to a source, that gives an edition authority, while with any other aim than that of ascertaining what was on the sheets of paper which Shakespeare wrote and

handed to the players we can have nothing to do, unless we find evidence of his personal revision of this original text. That is our first point, and it brings us into collision with almost every editor of Shakespeare, even (although to an exceptionally slight extent) with the honoured editors of the Cambridge text.

II. The second deduction we have to draw is that, although it is probable that the first authorized printers of any play by Shakespeare had but scant respect for such spelling, punctuation and system of emphasis capitals as they found in their copy, yet as it requires less mental effort to follow copy mechanically than consciously to vary from it, we are bound to believe that in these matters, as well as in the words of the text, the first authorized edition of any play is likely to be nearer than any other to what the author wrote.

In regard to these matters we cannot, as we should like to do, claim that we still have Dr Johnson on our side. 'In restoring the author's works to their integrity,' wrote the Doctor, 'I have considered the punctuation as wholly in my power; for what could be their care of colons and commas, who corrupted words and sentences [?].' The argument which underlies this charmingly alliterative sentence, which, however, with curious ill luck ends with a full stop instead of a mark of interrogation—the argument is perfectly sound. It *is* highly probable that such punctuation as Shakespeare bestowed on his manuscript is less, perhaps much less, faithfully reproduced, than his words. But what proportion of Shakespeare's words have we any reason to believe were corrupted by his first printers? Even on a pessimistic view

certainly not one in a hundred. If his punctuation, therefore, were ten times as carelessly reproduced as his words, nine out of ten of the stops in a first authorized Quarto would be as Shakespeare wrote them. As against Dr Johnson this seems a very fair argument, though no doubt he would have 'downed' it more or less successfully. As a matter of fact, we have to take into consideration quite another probability, the probability that Shakespeare, unless it definitely occurred to him that he would like to have a speech delivered in a particular way, was himself much too rapid a writer to be at all careful about his stops. If this is so, his first printers, instead of simply following his punctuation faithfully, must often have been called upon to supply the lack of it as best they could; so that all numerical estimates of their fidelity must go by the board.

If, however, we ask whether there is any reason to believe (*a*) that it did sometimes occur to Shakespeare that he would like to have a speech delivered in a particular way, (*b*) that he could and did indicate this by punctuation, and (*c*) that this punctuation, at least in some cases, is quite faithfully reproduced, the answers we can offer to these questions do not encourage us to acquiesce at all cheerfully in Johnson's assumption that the punctuation of the plays was 'wholly in [his] power.' By Johnson's day the punctuation which we find in Elizabethan books, more especially in plays, may be correctly described as a lost art. Dr Johnson might do what he pleased with colons and commas. He could make them help to show how a sentence of Shakespeare's should be parsed; but he could not make them show how it would be delivered by a great actor—because that

might have interfered with the parsing. Now, in his little book on Shakespearian Punctuation, though his method of exposition may not in all respects win acceptance, Mr Percy Simpson has abundantly proved that what could not be done in Johnson's days could be done in Shakespeare's. Everyone interested not only in the Elizabethan drama, but in all the outburst of poetry from Tottell's *Miscellany* to Herrick, should buy and study Mr Simpson's book, which is published by the Clarendon Press for five shillings. It is only right to say, however, that he had been preceded in this field by Mr A. E. Thiselton, who, in a succession of separately printed notes to various plays of Shakespeare, had paid special attention to their punctuation and already discovered a method in what commentators have accounted the madness of that found in the early editions. Both Mr Simpson (to whom I owe my own conversion) and Mr Thiselton have presented their results mainly in terms of grammar and syntax. My own way of restating the facts as I understand them, is that in Shakespeare's day, at any rate in poetry and the drama, all the four stops, comma, semicolon, colon, and full stop, could be, and (on occasion) were, used simply and solely to denote pauses of different length irrespective of grammar and syntax. On the other hand the normal punctuation was much nearer to normal speech than is the case with our own, which balances one comma by another with a logic intolerable in talk. Thus the punctuation we find in the plays omits many stops which modern editors insert, and on the other hand inserts others, sometimes to mark the rhythm, sometimes to emphasize by a preliminary pause the word, or words which follow, sometimes for yet other reasons which can

hardly be enumerated. The only rule for dealing with these supra-grammatical stops, is to read the passage as punctuated, and then consider how it is affected by the pause at the point indicated. In the same way, if there is no stop where we expect one, or only a comma where we should expect a colon or even a full stop, we must try how the passage sounds with only light stops or none at all, and see what is the gain or loss to the dramatic impression.

As has already been admitted, the punctuation of most of the early Quartos, even when the system on which it is based is very liberally interpreted at the risk of turning faults into sham beauties, is inadequate and defective. But two points seem to emerge from the study of almost any early Quarto we take up. In the first place it seems clear that the value of all the stops was greater than at present. The comma is often used where we should put a semicolon; the semicolon for a colon; the colon for a full stop; while a full stop is a very emphatic stop indeed. If an Elizabethan printer had been given a typical passage of Macaulay to punctuate, he would have replaced many of his famous full stops by colons and some by commas. In such a case, where each sentence was grammatically complete in itself, but all were directed to building up by accumulation a single effect, an Elizabethan would have regarded all the sentences as co-ordinate parts of a whole and would have refused (unless rhetoric suggested an advantage in seeming to pause between each for a reply) to separate them by any stop heavier than a colon. Moreover, if it were desired to indicate by punctuation the rapidity of invective or earnest pleading, commas would have been made to do the

work. A full stop, except when a speech is completely finished, always means business—very often theatrical business: at the least a change of tone or of the person addressed; occasionally, a sob or a caress.

Our second point is that even when we make ample allowance for the greater value of each of the four stops, and for his own carelessness and that of the printers, there is good evidence that Shakespeare preferred a light to a heavy punctuation.

'Speake the speech I pray you as I pronounc'd it to you, trippingly on the tongue, but if you mouth it as many of our Players do, I had as li[e]ve the towne cryer spoke my lines.' So Hamlet exhorted the players who were to test his uncle's guilt, and so (the punctuation of the early Quartos suggests) he may often have exhorted the actors at the Globe. In the 1604 Quarto of *Hamlet* the thirty-three lines of the speech that begins 'To be or not to be,' are punctuated with commas, two semicolons and a colon. The full stop only comes before the words: 'Soft you now The faire Ophelia.'

In Portia's famous speech in the *Merchant of Venice* there is a full stop after the plea that mercy

becomes
The thronèd Monarch better then his crowne

so that the idea may work its full effect before being followed by the gloss: 'His scepter shewes the force of temporall power,' etc. But after this, for thirteen lines there is no other full stop until the appeal is ended, and with a change of tone the pleader resumes:

I have spoke thus much
To mitigate the justice of thy plea,
Which if thou follow this strict court of Venice
Must needs give sentence gainst the Merchant here.

These particular punctuations are not held up for special admiration. It is in no way the business of bibliography to decide how Shakespeare's play should be punctuated. But when we find this notably light punctuation in editions of several different plays, set up by several different printers, it seems a fair bibliographical deduction that this light punctuation, though the printers may have corrupted it grossly, yet reflects a light punctuation in their copy, and so, immediately or by one or more removes, suggests what was Shakespeare's own habit.

We can make a similar deduction as regards the use of emphasis capitals, which may be taken to have indicated a slight exaltation in the tone in which the words they prefix were to be pronounced. In the early Quartos we find them used for titles of honour and respect, for abstract qualities and in metaphors; elsewhere only sparingly, and hardly ever in such a way as to encourage an actor to tear a passion to tatters. Thus in a speech which lies so exposed to over-emphasis as that of the Ghost in *Hamlet* beginning: 'Aye, that incestuous, that adulterate beast,' in the Quarto of 1604 there are only ten capitals, and these with two exceptions (Hebona and Lazerlike), merely follow the ordinary rules. Thus we find capitals assigned to Queen (twice), Crown, Uncle, Angel, Glowworm, Orchard and Denmark, and these are all, though the speech runs to just fifty lines. In the First Folio, on the other hand, there are just fifty emphasis capitals, or on an average one to every line, among the words emphasised being Beast, Traitorous, Lust, Lewdness, Garbage, etc., so that if an actor, when thus encouraged, resisted the temptation to mouthing, his grace was the greater

'In the very torrent tempest, and as I may say, whirlwind of your passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance, that may give it *smoothness*,' Hamlet tells the players, and bibliography may be permitted once more to quote this corroboration of its deduction that Shakespeare's manuscript was only moderately sprinkled with capitals.

III. The comparison that has just been made between the practice of the Quarto and Folio text of *Hamlet* in this matter of emphasis capitals brings us to the last point to be made in these papers, the point that, at least for some plays, the Folio must be regarded as an *edited* text, perhaps to about the same extent and in much the same manner as the Ellesmere manuscript of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* deserves that character. The Ellesmere scribe had ideas of his own on spelling and other matters, and a tendency if he did not find a verse smooth to leave it so. We have seen how ready someone was to smooth out lines in the First Folio. Probably he was doing the best thing for the book and its author that at that particular moment it was possible to do. Nor is it reasonable to be scornful if actors, who were responsible for bringing together the copy, took it for granted that the acting-versions then in use were the best possible, tolerated small verbal changes in the text, and thought it good if emphasis-capitals and punctuation were in accordance with the dramatic customs of their own day, rather than imperfect memoranda of Shakespeare's views.

How far the editing extended is a question of detail, from which the bibliographer must needs hold aloof. It has been noted already that the general editors of the Folio quickly tired of their task, and

perhaps the hired men who we believe to have collated and copied at the playhouse and the press-corrector in Jaggard's office may have tired also. It is possible also, and if human nature be taken into account, even probable, that when the copy arrived in manuscript and not in the form of a previously printed text, the craving to alter did not make itself felt in so severe a form. It could hardly have been otherwise than intensely interesting if Dr Aldis Wright, when fresh from revising the Cambridge Shakespeare, or Dr Howard Furness the elder, when in the full swing of work, had been tempted into a discussion as to whether the 'textus receptus' of the plays printed for the first time in the Folio of 1623 is better on an average, or worse, than in the case of plays of which a good Quarto as well as the Folio is available.

The literary side of editing a bibliographer must leave to his betters. Our task has been rescuing certain Quartos from most unbibliographical denunciations. We have quoted one wise and one not-so-wise remark from Dr Johnson's introduction to his edition of Shakespeare. It is amusing to find that Johnson in the prospectus which preceded by nine years the publication of his text out-heroded Herod in the vigour of his language. Here is what he wrote:

> The business of him that republishes an ancient book is, to correct what is corrupt, and to explain what is obscure. To have a text corrupt in many places, and in many doubtful, is, among the authors that have written since the use of types, almost peculiar to Shakespeare. Most writers, by publishing their own works, prevent all various readings and preclude all conjectural criticism. Books indeed are sometimes published after the death of

him who produced them, but they are better secured from corruptions than these unfortunate compositions. They subsist in a single copy, written or revised by the author; and the faults of the printed volume can be only faults of one descent.

But of the works of Shakespeare the condition has been far different; he sold them, not to be printed, but to be played. They were immediately copied for the actors, and multiplied by transcript after transcript, vitiated by the blunders of the penman, or changed by the affectation of the player; perhaps enlarged to introduce a jest, or mutilated to shorten the representation; and printed at last without the concurrence of the author, without the consent of the proprietor, from compilations made by chance or by stealth out of the separate parts written for the theatre; and thus thrust into the world surreptitiously and hastily, they suffered another depravation from the ignorance and negligence of the printers, as every man who knows the state of the press in that age will readily conceive.

It is not easy for invention to bring together so many causes concurring to vitiate a text. No other author ever gave up his works to fortune and time with so little care; no books could be left in hands so likely to injure them, as plays frequently acted, yet continued in manuscript; no other transcribers were likely to be so little qualified for their task, as those who copied for the stage, at a time when the lower ranks of the people were universally illiterate: no other Editions were made from fragments so minutely broken, and so fortuitously re-united; and in no other age was the art of printing in such unskilful hands.

It is curious that when Johnson wrote the sentence: 'It is not easy for invention to bring together so many causes concurring to vitiate a text,' he should not have paused to ask himself how many of his

confident statements were based upon any kind of evidence and for how many a faculty not very distinct from that of invention might be held responsible. The theory that the plays must have been 'multiplied by transcript after transcript' has held the field from his day to our own and has not one shred of evidence to support it, nothing but an imaginative pessimism convinced that this is what must have happened. The statement that the plays were 'fragments minutely broken, fortuitously reunited' printed 'from compilations made by chance, or by stealth out of the separate parts written for the theatre' is on no higher level. Indeed it may be questioned whether for once in his life the great Doctor did not descend in this passage to writing sheer nonsense. That the plays might have been 'compilations made by *stealth* out of the separate parts written for the theatre' is conceivable, though there is no evidence to support it; but that these compilations could have been made by *chance*, that the fragmentary 'parts' could have been '*fortuitously* reunited' is surely not even conceivable, unless indeed the theatrical 'parts' of those days were fitted with legs and we are to understand that they danced themselves together in some order of their own devising.

It is only fair to Dr Johnson to remember that he wrote this Prospectus before he edited his author, and that in his Introduction after nine years' experience he writes nothing in this vein, though it seems clear that he pinned his faith with much too absolute confidence to the First Folio. The quotation from his Prospectus is only given here because it expresses with vigorous rhetoric about the worst view of the Quartos that even invention can dictate. As a contrast with it we may quote the much saner views

of Malone in his Introduction to the Shakespeare of 1790. He there writes:

Fifteen of Shakespeare's plays were printed in quarto antecedent to the first complete collection of his works, which was published by his fellow comedians in 1623... The players when they mention these copies, represent them all as mutilated and imperfect; but this was merely thrown out to give an additional value to their own edition and is not strictly true of any but two of the whole number; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *King Henry V.* —With respect to the other thirteen copies, though undoubtedly they were all surreptitious, that is, stolen from the playhouse, and printed without the consent of the author or the proprietors, they *in general* are preferable to the exhibition of the same plays in the folio; for this plain reason, because, instead of printing these plays from a manuscript, the editors of the folio, to save labour, or from some other motive, printed the greater part of them from the very copies which they represented as maimed and imperfect, and frequently from a late, instead of the earliest, edition; in some instances with additions and alterations of their own. Thus therefore the first folio, as far as respects the plays above enumerated, labours under the disadvantage of being at least a second, and in some cases a third, edition of these quartos. I do not, however, mean to say, that many valuable corrections of passages undoubtedly corrupt in the quartos are not found in the folio copy; or that a single line of these plays should be printed by a careful editor without a minute examination and collation of both copies; but those copies were in general the basis on which the folio editors built, and are entitled to our particular attention and examination as *first* editions.

It is well known to those who are conversant with the business of the press, that, (unless when the author corrects and revises his own works,) as editions of books are multi-

plied their errors are multiplied also;...The various readings found in the different impressions of the quarto copies are frequently mentioned by the late editors: it is obvious from what has been already stated, that the first edition of each play is alone of any authority [except, he notes, in the case of *Romeo and Juliet*], and accordingly to no other have I paid any attention. All the variations in the subsequent quartos were made by accident or caprice. Where, however, there are two editions printed in the same year, or an undated copy, it is necessary to examine each of them, because which of them was first cannot be ascertained; and being each printed from a manuscript, they carry with them a degree of authority to which a reimpression cannot be entitled. Of the tragedy of *King Lear* there are no less than three copies varying from each other, printed for the same bookseller, and in the same year. Of all the plays of which there are no quarto copies extant, the first folio, printed in 1623, is the only authentick edition.

So far Malone, and if we have got beyond him in some points, in others, notably in his clear recognition that the Quartos 'were in general the basis on which the folio editors built,' and that (with stated exceptions) 'the first edition of each play is alone of any authority —all the variations in the subsequent Quartos were made by accident or caprice'—he is admirably sound.

What are the points in which we can claim to have got beyond Malone after a century and a quarter of further work? Not so many, it must be confessed, nor so important, as they should be. One or two new Quartos have been discovered, notably the *Hamlet* of 1603, giving a botched text of the play in its earlier form. We also know that there were only two early Quartos of *King Lear*, the belief that there were more being due to the co-existence in the first

edition of uncorrected and corrected sheets such as those in *Richard II*, mentioned in our third paper.

So far as editors of Shakespeare are concerned it is doubtful whether their improvements on Malone can be shown to extend beyond these small points, and on the other hand they have hardly kept to his canon that only first editions can count as authorities. Quite recently, however, the three cases, the *Merchant of Venice*, the *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *King Lear*, in which the existence of two different editions bearing the same date led Malone to suppose that each was derived from a separate manuscript, have been resolved into three original editions, two of 1600 and one of 1608, and three reprints, all produced in 1619, and there is no longer any reason to believe in their being derived from rival manuscripts. It is rather strange that Malone did not make this discovery himself. Half a discoverer's work is done for him when the subject for investigation is rigidly isolated, and in Malone's day there must have been in existence nearly a dozen nice fat volumes, each containing the same nine plays, three of them, viz., the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Merchant of Venice* and *Sir John Oldcastle*, dated 1600; two others, *Henry V* and *King Lear*, dated 1608; three, the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Yorkshire Tragedy* and *Pericles*, dated 1619; and one, *The whole Contention between the two famous houses of York and Lancaster*, undated. One after another of these fat little volumes got broken up for convenience of sale or handling, and now, as far as is known, the only extant copy is that bearing the name of Edward Gwynn stamped on its cover, which after a long sojourn in Germany was brought back to England in 1902,

sold through Quaritch to Mr Marsden Perry at Providence, Rhode Island and passed in 1919 into the possession of Mr Folger of New York on the basis of a catalogue price of no less than $100,000. Chance, however, brought this in 1902, and in 1906 a similar volume from the Hussey collection, under the same pair of eyes, and though the Hussey volume was broken up while a wild search was being made for a note of the contents of the fellow to it seen four years before, suspicion had at last been aroused, and the unravelment of the problem became only a question of time. Traces of similar volumes were found in the Capell collection at Trinity College, in the Garrick plays at the British Museum and elsewhere, and a first hypothesis was formed, that the plays with the earlier dates, four of them duplicating another edition of the same year, had sold badly and in 1619 were being made up into a volume with those printed in that year, as a kind of 'remainder.' Then Dr W. W. Greg made a spring at the true explanation, that the plays were all printed together in 1619, and proceeded to prove it by the very pretty, but very intricate evidence of the water-marks. After this the quarry was in full view and it was easy to hunt it down by a variety of proofs, the *coup de grâce* being given by an American student, Mr William Neidig, who showed photographically that the types used for the words 'Written by W. Shakespeare,' which occur on the three title-pages dated 1619, and also on that of the *Merchant of Venice* dated 1600, had remained untouched in the forme while all four titles were being printed—which could hardly have happened if they were separated by an interval of nineteen years.

The most lenient explanation of the five false dates assumes an original intention to prefix a general title-page to the collection, there being other instances of the short imprints and dates of first editions being placed on the separate title-pages of a volume of reprints by way of acknowledgement of the source and ownership of the text. The matter is complicated, however, by an apparent desire to establish a claim to two copyrights, those of the *Merchant of Venice* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, which may have seemed to be derelict. For our present purpose, however, it suffices to note that the controversies as to which of the rival editions of these plays and of *King Lear* should be considered the earlier have been decisively settled in favour of those bearing the fuller imprints, and that it will be almost impossible for any future editor to maintain, as has hitherto been the fashion, that the falsely dated editions were printed from separate manuscripts. It seems quite clear that they must have been reprinted from the correctly dated First Editions, and that the variants in the text all originated in the printing-house.

The second point in which we claim to have improved on Malone is as to the interpretation to be placed on the oft-quoted words:

> where (before) you were abus'd with diuerse stolne and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them: euen those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd and perfect of their limbes.

Malone, though he distinguished between the bad Quartos, such as those of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *King Henry V*, the texts of which were entirely rejected by the editors of the Folio, and the good

Quartos, which the Folio editors, either (as he supposes) 'to save labour or from some other motive,' used as their text in reprinting the plays, nevertheless says categorically:

> Undoubtedly they were *all* surreptitious, that is stolen from the playhouse, and printed without the consent of the author or the proprietors.

It is confidently submitted that this assertion needlessly extends and enlarges the statement of the editors of the Folio, at the cost of making them decry their own property and tell foolish and gratuitous lies.

There is some slight ambiguity about the exact meaning of the word 'where' in the Preface to the First Folio. It is at least possible that it should be construed as equivalent to 'in those cases in which,' 'where before you were abus'd'—'in those cases in which you were abus'd'—'with diuerse stolne and surreptitious copies, even those are now offer'd to your view cur'd.' It is more probable, however, that it should be taken as meaning 'whereas'—whereas before you were abused, even those copies are now set right. Adopting this as the meaning less favourable to our case, may we not reasonably ask whether, if the players had intended to affix the charge of surreptitiousness on all the Quartos, they would have been content with so guarded a statement? Divers stolen and surreptitious copies had been issued—the first *Romeo and Juliet*, *Henry V*, the *Merry Wives*, the first *Hamlet*, probably a first *Loves Labors Lost*, which has not come down to us. All these editions had been rejected by the Folio editors, who had replaced them by good texts, and could therefore, without reference to any other texts, truthfully say—'even those are now offer'd to your view cur'd and perfect of their limbes.'

It is possible, of course, that when they mentioned 'diuerse copies' the Folio editors intended their readers to add the mental comment 'to wit, all the seventeen plays that have hitherto been printed.' But if they wanted this to be understood, why did they not say so? They had plenty of picturesque language at their command! Why should we make the words 'diuerse copies' apply to any except the plays which the Folio editors rejected, which bear their own evidence of a disreputable origin, and were never regularly entered on the Stationers' Register? Why should we extend it to the plays which the Folio editors were actually using as the source of their text, and of which in some cases the copyrights were at that moment vested in some of the publishers of the Folio?

It has been the object of these papers to show that the Quartos regularly entered on the Registers of the Stationers' Company were neither stolen nor surreptitious. I have gone further than this by bringing together some little evidence that some at least of these editions may have been set up from Shakespeare's autograph manuscript, and have further dangled before my readers the hope that in some of these much vilified texts there may yet survive evidence of how Shakespeare meant some of his great speeches to be delivered. This is as far as bibliography can take us. The literary critics must be allowed their rights. But if, overstepping these, they raise the foolish old cry, 'all stolne and surreptitious,' I hope in future they will be received with the answering whoop, 'Printed from the author's autograph,' for which there is at least as much justification as the other, and I venture to think a good deal more.

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SHAKESPEARE'S HAND IN *The* PLAY *of* SIR THOMAS MORE

PAPERS by ALFRED W. POLLARD
W. W. GREG E. MAUNDE THOMPSON
J. DOVER WILSON & R. W. CHAMBERS

with the text of the Ill May Day Scenes
edited by W. W. Greg

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1923

REPRINTED
1967

Published by the Syndics of the
Cambridge University Press
Bentley House, 200 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1
American Branch: 32 East 57th Street,
New York, N.Y. 10022

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Cambridge University Press Library Editions are reissues of out-of-print standard works from the Cambridge catalogue. The texts are unrevised and, apart from minor corrections, reproduce the latest published edition.

First published 1923
Reprinted 1967

First printed in Great Britain
at the University Printing House, Cambridge
Reprinted in the United States of America
Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 24–13051

PREFACE

THE object of this book is to strengthen the evidence of the existence (in the Harleian MS. 7368 at the British Museum) of three pages written by Shakespeare in his own hand as part of the play of *Sir Thomas More*. The contributors have tried not to be over-eager in pressing their contention, or to claim more than they can make good. They would not have their readers less critical than they have tried to be themselves, and are aware that from one quarter at least searching criticism is to be expected, since if Shakespeare wrote these three pages the discrepant theories which unite in regarding the "Stratford man" as a mere mask concealing the activity of some noble lord (a 17th Earl of Oxford, a 6th Earl of Derby, or a Viscount St Albans) come crashing to the ground. It is here contended that the writing of the three pages is compatible with a development into the hand seen in Shakespeare's considerably later extant signatures and explains misprints in his text; that the spelling of the three pages can all be paralleled from the text of the best editions of single plays printed in Shakespeare's life, and that the temper and even the phrasing of the three pages in the two crucial points involved, the attitude to authority and the attitude to the crowd, agree with and render more intelligible passages in much later plays. In the Introduction it is shown that the most likely date at which the three pages were written is one which easily admits of their composition by Shakespeare for the company for

which he habitually wrote. All these contentions may be mistaken; but the Editor may at least claim for his contributors that they have earned a right to their opinions and that their conclusions cannot lightly be dismissed. While there has been some friendly interchange of criticism each contributor must be understood as taking responsibility only for his own paper.

Grateful acknowledgement is offered to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for their kindness in allowing use to be made of the facsimiles of the six signatures in Sir E. Maunde Thompson's book on *Shakespeare's Handwriting* published by them in 1916.

A. W. POLLARD.

June 1923

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I. INTRODUCTION

By Alfred W. Pollard

I

THE writers of the successive chapters of this book are interested in the old play of *Sir Thomas More* mainly because, on various grounds and with varying degrees of confidence, they believe that part of a scene, represented by three pages of the extant manuscript, was composed and written with his own hand by Shakespeare. Yet the play has some interest in its own right and the section in which the three pages occur makes a very popular appeal. Although in the end the hero goes (manfully and merrily) to an unjust death with the full sympathy of the reader, or hypothetical spectator, the play is not a tragedy, hardly even a chronicle history. It is made up of three groups of scenes, each group being fairly homogeneous and the scenes composing it with one exception consecutive. The first group (scenes i and iii–vii) describes from beginning to end the anti-alien riots on the 'ill May-day' of 1517, the quelling of which is, with very scant historical justification, attributed to More's pacifying oratory, and represented as promptly rewarded by knighthood (which was conferred on him in 1521), membership of the Privy Council (conferred in 1518) and Lord Chancellorship (conferred in 1529). Of the scenes of the second group (ii, viii, ix) the earliest shows More, while one of the city Sheriffs (he was really a per-

manent under-Sheriff), saving a thief from the gallows as a reward for his help in a practical joke on a pompous city justice; in the later scenes we see him changing clothes with his steward in order to trick his friend Erasmus (who had known him since 1497), giving an offensively long-haired servitor his choice between prison and the barber (a story told in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* of Thomas Cromwell and here, rather unhappily, transferred to More) and stepping in to supply by improvisation the place of a missing actor in an interlude performed in his own house for the entertainment of the Lord Mayor and Mayoress. Finally, the scenes of the third group (scenes x–xvii) exhibit More's refusal to sign certain mysterious 'articles' presented to him in the King's name, his resignation of the Chancellorship, and the successive steps by which his seclusion in his own house at Chelsea was followed by his arrest as a traitor, despatch to the Tower, condemnation and execution.

The four episodes of the second group of scenes are not very successful. The trick played on the pompous justice is well told up to almost the end and then goes to pieces; the trick on Erasmus is badly muddled; the treatment of the long-haired servitor seems to have aroused some doubts, as there are variant endings to it; the improvisation is the best of the four, but rather a slight matter to make so much of. Even if much more perfectly set forth these stories would form a very inadequate link between the picture of More's (much accelerated) rise to power and his (equally accelerated) fall, condemnation and death.

The last group of scenes show touches of dignity, humour and pathos; but the writers do not rise to the height of their argument, partly because they had not

the courage explicitly to state it. More is shown refusing to sign the articles exhibited to him by the King's command, but the contents of the articles are carefully left unexplained. Elizabeth retained the ecclesiastical supremacy which More died rather than approve, and blind as these playwrights were to the difficulties in their path they had at least the wit to see what must inevitably happen if they let him argue his case.

In the first group of scenes there is no such hesitation. The writers explain quite clearly what the 'ill May-day' riots were about, and they are so full of their subject that now and again they almost forget their hero. In the two other groups of scenes More is always in our minds. Even when Bishop Fisher crosses the stage on the way to the Tower we think not of him, but of More and the penalty he too will have to pay. The anti-alien scenes are written for their own sake; they come very near indeed to being a complete play in themselves, a play in which More appears as Athene might in some Greek tragedy, full of reasonableness and persuasive wisdom, surpassing the hero and heroine and yet not displacing them in our affections. The hero and heroine are Lincoln and Doll Williamson; and our *deus ex machina*, Sheriff More, suffers somewhat in our esteem because the hard facts of history made it impossible for him to be represented as saving Lincoln from the gallows as (in the play) he was deeply pledged to do. The effect of this miniature play is weakened by the interposition of the Sessions scene with its presentation (at once lengthy and a little ragged) of the joke More plays on the city justice, and again by the heaviness of the two groups of scenes by which it is followed. It is a

pleasure to print the miniature play for the first time without these encumbrances. It is a pity that the main purpose of our book forbids us to edit it specifically for the enjoyment of modern readers, as it deserves.

Of course the miniature anti-alien play was doomed from the start to be censored out of existence. It may be doubted whether a modern counterpart of it would easily be passed for performance. The manuscript shows us that a scene in which apprentices wound Sir John Munday (Anthony no doubt introduced this out of family pride) was cut out, as dramatically superfluous and likely to cause trouble, and the climax of the riot was re-written, no doubt also to conciliate the censor. At first the censor himself, Edmund Tilney, seems to have thought that something might be done by botching. He marks individual passages for omission, and substitutes 'Lombards' for 'Frenchmen' or 'strangers,' as there were few Lombards in London at the time the play was written, whereas Huguenots from France and refugees from Spanish persecution in the Low Countries were many, and the Londoners had little love for them. But when he had got to the end of the 'ill May-day' scenes he obviously saw that half measures would be useless, so he went back to the beginning of the play and wrote in the margin the drastic order

Leaue out y^e^ insurrection wholy & y^e^ cause theroff & begin w^t^ S^r^ Tho: More att y^e^ mayors sessions w^t^ a reportt afterwards off his good seruic don being Shriue off Londo*n* vppo*n* a mutiny agaynst y^e^ Lu*m*bards. Only by a shortt reportt & nott otherwise att your own perrilles. E. Tyllney.

The use of the name of an actor Goodal in the margin of leaf 13* recto for the part of a Messenger, and an

attempt (see Dr Greg's note) to reduce the number of actors needed to play scene vi, proves that the players had been sufficiently hopeful of securing a licence to 'cast' the play for performance. But this drastic order must have convinced them that the play was hopeless, and I agree with Dr Greg that the re-writing of the climax of the riot in the three pages with which we are specially concerned should be looked on as an anticipatory attempt to placate Tilney, rather than a (quite inadequate) effort to comply with his order. In the first of these three pages the spectator is no longer invited to sympathize with the objects of the crowd, but to laugh at it amiably and note its foibles. In the speech which follows, in which More persuades the rioters to submit, he puts the case for obedience to the royal authority at its very highest, opposition to the King being represented as opposition to God Himself. The players forgot that there might be subjects which Authority would not allow to be presented on the stage, however judiciously they were handled, and that the rising of a London mob against the foreigners whom it was the policy of Authority to welcome might be one of them. But that the substitution of the three pages of the manuscript in which the mob is ridiculed and obedience to the sovereign exalted for the original scene which they displace was due to a desire to propitiate Authority seems certain.

The belief which underlies this book is that in anticipation of trouble with the censor the players had turned to an 'absolute Johannes factotum' who had previously had no part in the play, and that it is thus no accident that in these three pages we find the attitude to mobs, the attitude to the crown, and the

deep humanity, which are recurrent features in the work of William Shakespeare.

II[1]

The play of *Sir Thomas More* was first printed in 1844 in an edition prepared for the *Shakespeare Society* by the Rev. Alexander Dyce, who bestowed much care on the task of transcribing the difficult manuscript (Harl. 7368 at the British Museum) in which alone it has come down to us, but contented himself with a single page preface and some extracts from Halle's chronicle and a ballad on the Evil May-day of 1517 by way of introduction.

Twenty-seven years after the appearance of Dyce's edition Richard Simpson (a liberal Roman Catholic theologian who towards the end of his life interested himself greatly in Shakespeare) in an article in *Notes and Queries* for July 1, 1871 (4th series, Vol. VIII), entitled 'Are there any extant MSS. in Shakespeare's Handwriting?' claimed two sections of our play as in Shakespeare's autograph. Simpson based this claim mainly on the literary evidence, the 'Shakespearian flavour' of these sections, but also on the character of the handwriting, asserting that 'the way in which the letters are formed is absolutely the same as the way in which they are formed in the signatures of Shakespeare.' On September 21 of the following year James Spedding took up Simpson's argument, again in *Notes and Queries*, with a keen sense of its importance. He suggested that the relevant pages of the manuscript should be printed in facsimile to facilitate their study, and at the same time reduced those which

[1] Some use has here been made, by permission, of an article contributed to *The Times*, Literary Supplement, 24 April, 1919.

he thought could be assigned to Shakespeare to three, on which is written the greater part of a scene describing the pacification by More of the anti-alien riot of 1517. As to these he wrote, very justly:

> If there is in the British Museum an entire dramatic scene filling three pages of fifty lines each, composed by Shakespeare when he was about twenty-five years old[1], and *written out with his own hand*, it is a 'new fact' of much more value than all the new facts put together which have caused so much hot controversy of late years. As a curiosity it would command a high price; but it is better than a curiosity. To know what kind of hand Shakespeare wrote would often help to discover what words he wrote.

For a third of a century the seed sown by Simpson and watered by Spedding bore fruit only in occasional references, but in 1908 the play was included in the *Shakespearian Apocrypha* published by the Oxford University Press under the editorship of Mr C. F. Tucker-Brooke and in 1910 by the enterprise of the late Mr J. S. Farmer not merely the 'relevant pages,' for which Spedding had asked, but the entire manuscript was published in facsimile.

In 1911 a great step forward was taken by the production for the Malone Society by Dr W. W. Greg of an edition of the play which must always rank among the best examples of English literary and palæographical scholarship. In this the present state of the manuscript was carefully described and it was divided palæographically into thirteen leaves in a main hand (called S), seven leaves of Additions in five different hands (called A–E) and some notes by a censor, easily identified with Edmund Tilney, Master

[1] Dyce had dated the play 'about 1590 or perhaps a little earlier.'

of the Revels, one of whose duties it was to grant or withhold licences for the public performance of plays. In Dr Greg's classification the three pages assigned to Shakespeare by Simpson, as amended by Spedding, are in hand D. As to these Dr Greg wrote:

> These hasty pages of D's have individual qualities which mark them off sharply from the rest of the play. There is wit in the humours of the crowd, there is something like passion in More's oratory. So striking indeed are these qualities that more than one critic has persuaded himself that the lines in question can have come from no pen but Shakespeare's. The possibility acquires additional interest from the fact that the passage is undoubtedly autograph. Here possibly are three pages in the hand that so many have desired to see. The question is one of stylistic evidence, and each reader will have to judge for himself. I do not feel called upon to pronounce: but I will say this much, that it seems to me an eminently reasonable view that would assign this passage to the writer who, as I believe, foisted certain of the Jack Cade scenes into the second part of *Henry VI*.

By a comparison with MS. Addit. 30262 fol. 66^{b} at the British Museum and with Henslowe's Diary fols. 101 and 114, at Dulwich College, Dr Greg had identified the hand of one of the Additions to the play (that which he calls E) as Thomas Dekker's. In 1912, again by the enterprise of Mr Farmer, the publication of a facsimile of Munday's play *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, then in possession of Lord Mostyn, showed (as was promptly pointed out by Dr Greg) that this manuscript is autograph and that the writing is that of the bulk of *Sir Thomas More*, that of the hand S to which we owe the thirteen original leaves. Thus we now know that these thirteen leaves were written by Anthony Munday, though

the occurrence of the curious mistake 'fashis,' for fashiō, i.e. fashion, in line †1847 (Greg's numeration), which no author could make in transcribing his own manuscript, proves that for some of these thirteen leaves he was only a copyist.

The manuscripts of *John a Kent* and *Sir Thomas More* are connected not only by the first being wholly and the second in part in Munday's writing, but also by both being cased in leaves from the same fifteenth century Breviary or Legenda, *John a Kent* having also a patch from a thirteenth century copy of the *Compilatio prima* of Canon Law by Bernard of Pavia. Each, moreover, is inscribed on the front wrapper with its title (the word 'booke' being used in each case: *The Booke of John a Kent and John a Cumber* and *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*), in large engrossing characters. The two plays must thus have been in the same hands at the same time, and they must also have continued probably for some years in the same ownership, as both have suffered in the same way from damp which has rotted the outer margins of the paper leaves of both manuscripts in like manner.

The *More* manuscript is undated; that of *John a Kent* below Munday's signature at the end of the play bears a mutilated date '...Decembris 1596,' in a fine Italian hand differing from Munday's writing of the same class and in a different ink. The mutilation is unlucky, as on the probable supposition that the inscription was put midway in the breadth of the page there is room for more than the word 'die' and a number (which must have preceded 'Decembris'), and if another word preceded the day of the month, this might have revealed the meaning of the date which at present is mysterious. The only point toler-

ably certain is that it cannot be the date at which Munday completed and signed the play. Had it been this he would surely have written it with his own hand, it would have come more to the right on the page in immediate connection with his signature and would hardly have been in Latin. Latin, if we may generalize from other notes in books, would be appropriate to a date of purchase, and if so, the date would presumably be either that at which it was acquired by the company of players by whom it was acted, or that at which some private purchaser recorded his purchase of it from the company. The refinement of the hand and the use of Latin both support the latter alternative, and if Fleay's identification of *John a Kent* with *The Wise Man of Westchester* acted by the Admiral's men in and after the autumn of 1594 is not now to be rejected this view must certainly be preferred.

Three or four years after the publication of the facsimile of Munday's *John a Kent*, which led to the identification of the main hand of *Sir Thomas More* as his, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson in contributing a chapter on 'Handwriting' to the book on *Shakespeare's England*,' with which the delegates of Oxford University Press in 1916 were to celebrate the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death, passed in review all the various signatures, etc. which had at any time been attributed to Shakespeare. He condemned all the signatures[1] save those respectively attached to

[1] In a subsequent paper contributed to *The Library* (3rd Series, July, 1917, Vol. VIII) Sir Edward gave *in extenso* his reasons for regarding as forged the signature in the copy of Florio's translation of the *Essays* of Montaigne, acquired by the British Museum at the instance of Sir Frederick Madden, and also that on the Bodleian Ovid.

Shakespeare's deposition (11 May 1612) in the suit of Stephen Bellott *v.* Christopher Montjoy, to the conveyance of the house in Blackfriars bought by him (10 March 1613) and the mortgage deed of the same (11 March 1613) and the three to his Will (25 March 1616). When, however, he came to the three pages in the More manuscript he recognized in the hand D of the Additions 'certain features' which he had already noted in Shakespeare's signatures. After an exhaustive study of the manuscript he became convinced that here he was in truth confronted with a holograph literary manuscript of our greatest English poet. Late in 1916 he published his conclusions and the evidence on which they were based in a monograph entitled *Shakespeare's Handwriting* (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press), with full facsimiles of the three pages and an independent transliteration of them, differing in a few minute points from that in Dr Greg's edition.

Sir E. M. Thompson's arguments were respectfully received and there was a general acknowledgment by reviewers of the exceptional skill with which the scanty evidence was marshalled and analysed. But even if his monograph had appeared at some quieter time than the very middle of the great war, it would probably have met with a somewhat inert reception, as the number of trained palæographers is but small, and few of this small number have made any special study of the handwriting of Shakespeare's day. Thoroughly to test the conclusions reached requires not only some preliminary knowledge, but much patient investigation and a gift of palæographic vision of a very unusual kind.

III

The task with which anyone is confronted who tries to draw conclusions as to the authorship of the three pages of the play of *Sir Thomas More* by comparing the hand in which they are written with the hand of the six signatures is not the comparatively easy one of establishing or disproving the identity of two literary hands of approximately the same date. It is not even the much harder task of establishing identity between a literary hand and contemporary signatures. It is the almost impossibly difficult enterprise of stating, to himself and others, the ground for his own belief that the hand which wrote the three pages probably, as will be shown, late in 1593 or early in 1594, possibly a year later, would, or would not, naturally develop in the course of the next eighteen to twenty years in such a way as to produce the signature to the deposition of 1612, the two signatures to the deeds of 1613 and the three signatures to the will of 1616, all six of them written under the eyes of lawyers, and all six of them, we may surely guess, in moods as unlike those of dramatic composition as can well be conceived. The problem is thus first to visualize how a handwriting after a lapse of some twenty years and in totally different circumstances will show the natural effects of these and yet preserve its identity, and secondly, to make the process thus visualized intelligible to others not specially equipped to deal with it.

In comparing contemporary specimens of handwriting in each of which alternative forms are used for the same letter, if we are to establish identity we must show not merely that both the variants are

present in each of the specimens, or groups of specimens, but that they are present in approximately the same proportions. After an interval of some twenty years the rarely used alternative of the earlier specimen may have become predominant, and the alternative originally predominant only recur as a reminiscence. In contemporary specimens a tendency in one to substitute angles where the other has curves must awaken suspicion. Where one group of examples is some twenty years the later the difference may be the natural result of the loss of freedom of hand which comes with old age, or even of specific disease. In such cases the conviction of an identity surviving amid difference often becomes a personal impression which it is difficult to transfer to others who have less experience of handwritings and their changes, and the most striking feature in Sir E. M. Thompson's book was the success with which this difficulty, and the kindred difficulty arising from change of mood, were combated. But without the production of more evidence the difficulties could not be entirely overcome, and it is important therefore to estimate what is the minimum effect which Sir E. M. Thompson's book of 1916 might be expected to have on any unprejudiced student who recognizes that the problem is one, not of the large and generous measure of identity we may demand in contemporary specimens claimed to be from the same hand, but of the much less patent identity which may be looked for in early and late specimens of a hand which has undergone both development and degradation.

If we think of the use which might be made of Sir E. M. Thompson's arguments in a trial at law it is obvious that they are much more valuable for

defence than for attack. Let it be granted that if an estate were being claimed on the evidence adduced to show that the two hands are identical, a jury would probably refuse to award it. But reverse the case. Imagine the possessor of an estate challenged as to his right to it on the ground of the superficial *un*likeness of the hands, and Sir E. M. Thompson could hardly have failed to win his case for the defence; and this by itself is a great thing. If these three pages were not Shakespeare's work the dramatist to whom on the ground of style and temper I would most readily assign them (despite a difficulty about the date) would be Thomas Heywood. But Heywood is definitely ruled out by his handwriting; that is to say, that if Sir Edward was right, even to this limited extent, Shakespeare survives a test which excludes Heywood, and not only Heywood but all the other dramatists of whose handwriting specimens are known to exist.

In the new study which he contributes to this volume Sir Edward carries his point still further, and also by his detailed examination of the forms of individual letters and by the illustrative plates which accompany the examination offers important help to students of Shakespeare's text who, as an aid to dealing with passages suspected of being corrupt, would like to begin by writing out the lines as nearly as may be as Shakespeare might have written them himself. As to these plates it should be noted that being copies, not facsimiles, they are not put forward as having any evidential value, or as superseding the complete facsimiles given in *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, and at the same time that they really possess high illustrative value as being based on a handwriting which (if not accepted as his) is at least more like to his than any

other yet produced. Possibly some literary or epistolary specimen of Shakespeare's writing authenticated by a recognizable signature will yet be discovered and fulfil the confident expectation of some high authorities who, while regarding the evidence hitherto produced as inadequate, yet believe that if a satisfactory test is ever available Sir E. M. Thompson will be proved to be right. In the meantime the industry and ingenuity of Mr J. Dover Wilson have provided some corroborative evidence of an entirely new kind.

The carelessness of Elizabethan printers has been emphasized with wearisome frequency by Shakespeare editors for the best part of two centuries. In a good many instances, however, what are called misprints in the early editions of Shakespeare (and of other authors also) are not really misprints at all, but faults or slips in writing which the printer has faithfully reproduced. There was a time when any printer who was working on my own manuscript would tend to print an *n* where I had intended to write a *k*, turning *greek*, for instance, into *green*. It became evident to me that there was something misleading in the way I made a *k*, and a study of the misprints in the 'good quartos' of Shakespeare has made it evident to Mr Dover Wilson that there was something misleading in the way in which Shakespeare made several of his letters. In the letters *m*, *n*, *u* and combinations of these with each other and with *i* it is easy to make too few or too many strokes, and 'misprints' from this cause are common in the early texts of Shakespeare's; there are other misprints showing a similarity in the way he made the letters *c* and *i*, and again in the way he made *r* and *w*. Again, he must have made his *e* and *d* dangerously alike; also his *e* and *o*; also he

must have had a way of making an *a* so that it could be mistaken for *or*. Therefore when Mr Wilson shows that there are instances of the letters named being written in the three pages not only in a way which suggested to him that a printer might easily misread them, but in a way which had actually led two such experienced students of Elizabethan writing as Sir E. M. Thompson and Dr W. W. Greg, when they were thinking only of the correct transliteration of the text, to produce the variants *momtanish* and *mountanish*, *Shrewsbury* and *Shrowsbury*, *ordere* and *orderd*, *or sorry* and *a sorry*, he makes a very considerable addition to the argument from handwriting.

According to Sir Sidney Lee (preface to 1922 edition of his *Life of William Shakespeare*, p. xiii) Elizabethan handwriting 'runs in a common mould which lacks clearly discernible traces of the writer's individuality.' Cockneys have been heard to say the same of sheep, and yet the shepherd knows each sheep in his flock from every other. Moreover, even with a very liberal admission of the existence of common features in the contemporary examples of the same style of writing, wherever agreement is found where difference is possible, it counts for something. To use a large *C* instead of a small one must have been so common a trick on account of the niggling form of the little *c* that the fact that Shakespeare and the writer of the three pages both clearly preferred the large letter proves very little; and yet it counts, since if only ten per cent. of contemporary playwrights were without this preference, yet if ten per cent. can be eliminated by this test, the field of choice is to this extent narrowed. The way of writing an *a* so that it looks like *or* narrows the field more than this, and

when other common features are added, and we have to find a playwright with Shakespeare's attitude towards crowds, his attitude towards the monarchy, and his broad humanity, in whose handwriting these features also appear, but who is not Shakespeare, the task does not seem a very easy one.

We owe to Mr Dover Wilson new evidence as to yet another point in common between Shakespeare and the writer of the three pages; they both spelt in the same old-fashioned style. With the increased output of books spelling was being modernized very rapidly in the years (nearly a third of a century) which separate the More manuscript from the publication of the First Folio. The printers played a great part in this process, lagging behind the really modern spellers, but bringing the old-fashioned ones into some kind of harmony with them, except when the retention of some superfluous letter (mostly an *e*), or the use of *y* for *i*, made spacing easier. The spelling of the three pages abounds in old-fashioned forms; Mr Wilson is able to parallel them all from forms which have been preserved in the quarto editions of Shakespeare's plays, and it is in the highest degree unlikely that these were due either to the printer or to any intermediate copyist. Here then is another characteristic which must be discoverable in any playwright put forward as the author of the three pages. He must be an old-fashioned speller. The list seems to be getting rather long.

IV

As already noted, the original version of the episode of More's dealings with the long-haired serving-man was deleted, and variants substituted for

it. Over some of the deleted lines a piece of paper was pasted and on this and the neighbouring margin we find twenty-six lines written, in the hand Dr Greg calls C, which begin with a Messenger's announcement to More that the Lord Mayor and his wife are coming to dine with him. Over against the stage direction 'Enter A Messenger to moore' there is written in the margin: 'Mess T. Goodal,' denoting that the part of the messenger was to be played by an actor of that name, who is known to us as one of Lord Berkeley's players in 1581 and one of Lord Strange's at the time that they acted the second part of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, probably in or before 1590. Until lately this was the only piece of evidence as to the company for which the play was written and it seemed to point decisively to that company being the one for which Shakespeare wrote and acted. This evidence still stands, and must still be reckoned with. We can say with some certainty that if the play was written before June 1594 it must have been written for the company which it will be most convenient to speak of as Shakespeare's, since the patrons who protected its members from being treated as rogues and vagabonds changed with rather bewildering frequency during the years with which the play has been, or may be, connected. For reasons which are not very clear this company became very large from about 1590 to June 1594. During these years Edward Alleyn, the most famous actor of his day, was playing for it, though he retained his title 'the Lord Admiral's servant.' The plague was bad in these years; the theatres were very little open and many of the players went touring in the provinces. When the plague had subsided, in June 1594, the Lord Admiral's men were

reconstituted as a separate company, and in their first season made a great hit with a play called *The Wise Man of Westchester*, of which the book was the personal property of Alleyn, who only sold it to the company in 1601. In the summer of 1597 all the theatres were temporarily closed at the instance of the Lord Mayor, but the Admiral's men played again on October 11th, and they seem about this time to have been reinforced with members of another company (the Earl of Pembroke's) which had got itself into serious trouble. After this the company went on playing, but for whatever cause Alleyn temporarily retired about December 1597, and seems not to have returned to the stage till nearly the end of 1600. All these facts have to be stated because

(1) the writer of Dr Greg's 'hand C' in the play of *Sir Thomas More* has been lately identified by Dr Greg on the one hand, with the writer of the 'plot' of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (in which Goodal's name appears) for Shakespeare's company not later than 1590, and on the other hand, with the writer of a similar plot for the Admiral's men about 1597. Dr Greg also believes that the writing on the wrappers of the extant manuscripts of Munday's *John a Kent and John a Cumber* and of *Sir Thomas More* is his.

(2) Munday is known to have been writing for the Admiral's men in and after December 1597, and Dekker (in whose hand is an addition to the revised version of the episode of the long-haired serving-man) in and after January 1598. What Munday had been doing in the preceding years we do not know; that Dekker had previously been connected with Shakespeare's company is pretty certain, as he was arrested at its suit on 30 January 1599 (presumably

for some old debt) and released on payment of £3. 10*s.* by the Admiral's men.

(3) *The Wise Man of Westchester*, which made the success of the Admiral's season in 1594–5, has been connected by Fleay with Munday's *John a Kent and John a Cumber* which is concerned with the feats of the wizard John of Kent and his contest with John of Cumber and has its scene laid in and around Chester. If this connection holds (and it was accepted in his edition of Henslowe's Diary by Dr Greg, whom, since he is one of my witnesses, I must not contradict, even though he himself attaches no weight to the pronouncement), it seems fairly clear, since *The Wise Man of Westchester* continued to be so called in 1601, that the extant manuscript version in which the play is called on the wrapper *The Booke of John a Kent and John a Cumber* is the original form of the play and that Alleyn after acquiring it paid for it to be rewritten (not necessarily by Munday) under a new name, which accounts for Henslowe entering it in his Diary as 'Ne[w]' in 1594. Still, here we have Munday's play, if Fleay is to be held right, connected with the Admiral's men in 1594–95, and Munday and the writer of hand C further connected with them in 1597 and Dekker in January 1598. Are we to say that Goodal may have followed Alleyn when he left Shakespeare's company in 1594 and that *The Booke of Sir Thomas More* was written subsequently to June 1594 and for the Admiral's men and not for the company for which Shakespeare normally acted and wrote?

It is obvious at this point that the date of the play, or at least of the Additions to it, is now of increased importance. As long as the occurrence of Goodal's

name in one of the Additions stood alone it suggested a date round about 1590. Now that three of the men concerned in the manuscript are linked with a date round about 1598 we have to consider rival possibilities. The dates which have been suggested cover in all some fourteen years (1586–99) and there is the further possibility to be reckoned with that the play was drafted at one of the early dates and rewritten with Additions at one of the later ones. Dyce, the first editor of the play, dated it 'about 1590 or perhaps a little earlier'; Richard Simpson brought it back to 'the last months of 1586, or the early months of 1587' on the score of the mention of an anti-alien plot which was frustrated by the arrest of the youthful conspirators (all under 21) in September 1586, corroborated by the mention of Goodal and also (Greg, †1006 and †1148) of Ogle, a theatrical property-maker, who at present is known otherwise only by entries in the Revels' accounts for 1572–3, and 1584–5; Dr Percy Simpson in reviewing Sir E. M. Thompson's book in *The Library* for January 1917 drew attention to the grumble of the long-haired servitor, Jack Faukner (Addition IV, 215 *sq.*) 'Moore had bin (*sic*) better a scowrd More ditch, than a notcht mee thus' and suggested that the allusion would have had point 'just before the scouring or just after the failure' of a cleansing which was begun in May 1595. A date in or soon after 1595 had already been favoured by Fleay and others because of riots by apprentices and unruly youths in June of that year. I may add also that in 1595 the price of butter reached 7*d.* as against an alleged standard price of 3*d.*, so that the danger that it might go to 11*d.* referred to in the first

line of our three pages would have special point. Lastly, Professor E. H. C. Oliphant of Melbourne University, writing in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* in April 1919, favoured a date as late as 1598–9 on the ground that the style of Munday's share in the play suggests to him that it is later than his second *Robin Hood* play written in 1597–8 in collaboration with Chettle and earlier than *Sir John Oldcastle* written in 1599 in collaboration with Drayton, Hathwaye and Wilson. A date as late as this would also, he notes, suit very well for Dekker. Dr Greg, in his brief communication to the *Modern Language Review*, Jan. 1913, announcing the identity of the main hand in *Sir Thomas More* with that of Munday's *John a Kent* also favoured such a date from a momentary 'hallucination' (his own word) that the '... Decembris 1596' in the latter must be the date of composition. He and Sir E. M. Thompson are agreed in placing *More* between *John a Kent* and Munday's autograph dedication to his *The Heauen of the Mynde* which is dated 1602; but Sir Edward emphasizes his belief that *More* is nearer to *John a Kent*.

V

The recurrence of topical elements in Elizabethan plays has been so emphasized by various writers on the drama that it is not superfluous to point out that belief in it, when applied to riots in the streets of London, should be qualified by one obvious limitation. It is really not reasonable to believe that a play introducing a London riot would only have been written at some date when the playwrights would have run a risk of being hanged for their share in it. During any of the

fourteen years with which we are here concerned a play with an anti-alien riot scene would have been sure of crowded houses. I submit that after 24 July 1595 no company of actors would have dared to ask for a licence to perform either *Sir Thomas More* or any play with the 'ill May-day' of 1517 as an important episode in it. If anyone will be at the trouble of reading the 1595 section of the Appendix to this introduction he will see that in June of that year the lads of London were in a very unruly mood. We hear from Strype, but not from Stow, of a riot made by 'poor Tradesmen' 'upon the strangers in Southwarke and other parts of the city' on June 12, and of some 'young rioters' being committed to the Counter and an attempted rescue (see Appendix: 1595). As told by Stow himself the story is not of anti-alien demonstrations, but of disturbances over the price of butter and other provisions, for which other 'young men' on June 27th were 'punished by whipping setting in the pillorie and long imprisonment.' Two days later on a Sunday afternoon there was a fresh outbreak by 'a number of vnrulie youths' on Tower Hill, followed by trouble between the Lord Mayor's men and the warden of the Tower, which only the tact of the Lord Mayor finally quelled. By this time Elizabeth was thoroughly angry, and notified to the Privy Council her pleasure that a Provost Marshal should be appointed 'with sufficient authority to apprehend all such as should not be readily reformed and corrected by the ordinarie officers of Iustice, and that without delay to execute vpon the gallowes by order of martiall law.' The provost marshal exercised his powers with discretion; we do not hear of his hanging anyone. But the Queen could be as cruel as

her father or her sister. Five of the 'unruly youths' arrested on Tower Hill were indicted, not for obstructing the police, but for high treason. When the trial came on at the Guildhall on July 22, it was held 'in presence of the Earle of Essex, and other sent from the Queene,' and under this pressure from the crown the lads 'were condemned of high treason, had iudgement to bee drawne, hanged, and quartered, and on the 24, of the same moneth they were drawne from Newgate to the tower-hill, and there executed accordingly.' I should not blame anyone not familiar with the manuscript and its additions for believing that, when it was known that these 'unruly youths' were in danger of such a fate, a play of *Sir Thomas More* was furbished up and the 'Johannes factotum' of the day drawn in to help, in order by exaggerating Henry VIII's clemency after the 'ill May-day,' exalting the royal authority, hinting that the mob had been promised a pardon (as the 1595 mob may have been by the Lord Mayor), to create an atmosphere and expectation of mercy by which the Queen might have been moved. Against such a theory there are a host of dull reasons as to the time available, the nature of other of the Additions and the plotting of the play as a whole; also in place of Tilney's scoldings the players would have been lucky, had they been so bold, if they were lodged in no worse place than the Counter. But it would have been a high adventure, and I'd like to believe it, and that Shakespeare took his risk like a man. But that after the Queen had wreaked this really savage vengeance—and that it was felt to be savage is shown by the repeated insistence on the rioters' youth—players and playwrights should try to get a licence for a play in which

Henry VIII's clemency would inevitably be contrasted by the spectators with his daughter's cruelty, and the hope of mercy abundantly held out by More would inevitably be taken as implying that the same hope had been held out by the Lord Mayor, is to me frankly and entirely incredible. I cannot believe that after those five lads were hanged and quartered as traitors on Tower Hill on 24 July 1595 there was any possibility of such a play being written; on the contrary, I believe that the play, as we have it, was recognized as dead and that seventeen months later it was sold to an amateur of such literature along with *John a Kent.*

When a street is gutted by a fire there is small temptation to play with the flames. With a bonfire, when it is not too big, it is another matter. All through Elizabeth's reign there must have been a risk of anti-alien outbreaks, as from France and Holland there came numerous immigrants, and though in most cases their original motives were to escape persecution, religious or political, these became, not only useful craftsmen, but keen traders, on whom many Londoners looked askance, under the belief that they enjoyed greater privileges than themselves. The trouble in 1586 which led Richard Simpson to assign the composition of *More* to that or the following year seems to have been crushed before it came to a head; popular feeling was concentrated in anger on the Babington conspiracy, and the Queen's birthday became the occasion of great demonstrations of loyalty. There is no mention of anti-alien riots in Holinshed or Stow, and there is nothing whatever in favour of this date for the play in any form, while the occurrence of Dekker's hand in the Additions makes it

impossible for these. It has been assumed by writers on our play that the next outbreak was in 1595, but in May 1593 there were 'complaints and libels' against the Flemings and French which very seriously engaged the attention of the Queen's advisers, as will be seen in the two abstracts by Strype from papers belonging to Lord Halifax, quoted in my Appendix. The complaints were directed against the strangers acting as retail tradesmen, and two accounts were taken of their numbers, the ward authorities returning a total of 4300, while their own ministers reduced this to 3325. While these enquiries were making, 'libels' were posted up both in prose and verse, the former bidding the strangers depart out of the realm between this and the 9th of July next, and ending 'Apprentices will rise, to the number of 2336, and all the Apprentices and Journeymen will down with the Flemings and strangers.' Of the rhyme, posted up on the night of May 5th and brought to the constable and the rest of the watch by some of the inhabitants of the ward (oh, that Shakespeare could have given his version of the scene!), only the first four lines are quoted. 'The Court upon these seditious Motions, took the most prudent Measures to protect the poor Strangers and prevent any Riot or Insurrection. Several young men were taken up and examined about the confederacy to rise and drive out the strangers, and some of these rioters were put into the stocks, carted and whipt; for a terror to other Apprentices and Servants.' But the precautions taken were mostly secret and only the Lord Mayor 'and discreetest Aldermen' were informed of the real nature of the trouble. On the other hand, the complaints of the tradesmen, the counting of the aliens and the fact of the discovery of

the libels must all have been common talk in May 1593, and if the secrecy with which precautions against a rising were taken led to a belief that no very serious view was taken of the matter, here, I submit was just the combination of events and popular feeling which playwrights might try to exploit by reviving the memory of the famous riots of 1517, without seeming to themselves to run any exceptional risk.

As far then as our knowledge of the history of London during our period extends the events of May 1593 seem specially full of suggestions for Munday and his fellow dramatists and deceptively free from any special warning of the fate which a play with an anti-alien riot scene was certain to meet[1]. The anti-alien movement came to the surface, which it does not seem to have done in 1586; it was exclusively an anti-alien movement which was certainly not the case in 1595; and it provoked no such drastically deterrent punishment. I must confess that I cannot quote the price of butter in this year. It had been 5*d.* and 6*d.* a pound in 1591, and as it was 5*d.* and 7*d.* in 1595, it was probably high enough in the intermediate year to be a grievance. As to Moor Ditch, since the City Fathers levied two-fifteenths to cleanse it in 1595 and it had not been cleansed since 1569 we may be sure that in 1593 it smelt quite badly enough to be talked about. Until a date more inspiring to the playwrights can be produced I think we may be content with this, and as regards our evidence of other kinds it is

[1] It has been asked why the riot scenes in More should have been forbidden while those of Jack Straw and Jack Cade were allowed to pass. The answer is surely that the city could be trusted to protect the Court, in protecting itself, from an invasion of 'foreigners' from Kent or Essex, or elsewhere, but riots about its own grievances were another matter.

remarkable how it enables us to fit everything in. It is late enough for Shakespeare to have made his mark as a master of the humours of crowds by his handling of the Jack Cade scenes in the first revision of Part 2 of *Henry VI*[1]. It is late enough for there to be nothing improbable in Dekker having been allowed to try his 'prentice hand on a single episode in it[2]. It is late enough, again, for Munday's play of *John a Kent and John a Cumber* to be two or three years earlier, as the handwriting suggests. On the other hand, late in 1593 or early in 1594 (and we must allow some months for the play to have gone through all the stages[3] which can be traced) would not take us incon-

[1] This found its way into print in 1594, having been entered on the Stationers' Register in March as *The first part of the Contention*. I may note that I am quite content to be no more (and no less) certain of Shakespeare's authorship of our three pages than of his authorship of the Jack Cade scenes.

[2] Dekker is found writing for the Admiral's men in and after January, 1598. He had almost certainly had business connections before this with Shakespeare's company, as in January 1599 he was arrested for debt at their suit, and ransomed by his new employers. It may be worth noting that in his first entry of his name Henslowe spells it 'Dickers' and in the second entry 'Dicker.' Now a 'Thomas Dycker, gent' had a daughter Dorcas christened at St Giles', Cripplegate, on 27 October 1594 (*D.N.B.*). There is no proof that this was our Thomas Dekker, but it seems likely.

[3] The Additions are, of course, later than Munday's fair copy, and Munday's fair copy of scene i shows signs of being a prose revision of a scene originally in verse. There is nothing in the tone of the prose, in so far as it is prose, to provoke a playwright to drop unconsciously into decasyllabics, and yet here are a dozen to be accounted for: Thou art my prize and I pleade purchase of thee.—Thou thinkst thou hast the Goldsmithes wife in hand.—Are Piggions meate for a coorse Carpenter?—We may not, Betts; be pacient and heare more.—Were I not curbd by dutie and obedience.—Hands off proude

veniently far away from the occurrence of Goodal's name in the plot of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, or even from the latest known mention of Ogle the wig-maker. Finally, if the play was submitted to the censor and his discouraging instructions received early in 1594, about the time when Shakespeare's company was returning from the long tour forced on it by the closing of the theatres owing to the plague, we may believe that *John a Kent* (just brought back from touring) and *More* were put into their amateur parchment wrappers from bits of the same manuscript and inscribed by the owner of hand C, preparatory to their being handed over to Alleyn, 'the servant of the Lord High Admiral,' when in June 1594 his connection with Shakespeare's company came to an end, and the Admiral's men once more played as a separate company. If Fleay was right *John a Kent and John a Cumber* was a good bargain, as in its revised form *The Wise Man of Westchester* it was a great success in 1594–5. In its original form I believe that Alleyn sold it to an amateur of plays in December 1596, and that the Queen's cruelty in hanging and quartering the five 'unruly youths' for high treason in July 1595, having made the improbability of any revision

stranger or [by] him that bought me.—Mistresse I say you shall along with me.—Ile call so many women to myne assistance, as weele not leave an inche vntorne of thee.—Brideled by law and forced to bear your wrongs.—I am ashamed that free borne Englishmen.—Should thus be brau'de and abusde by them at home.

I should judge that in its first form this scene was Munday's and that it was rewritten by B and copied again by Munday. There may have been some interval between Munday's draft and the revision, but when revision began I think it must have been fairly continuous, as the playwrights seem partly to have been revising their own work.

of *Sir Thomas More* sufficing to procure it a licence at last fully obvious, the 'Booke' of this was sold at the same time and to the same purchaser, though the untidy condition of the MS. and its lack of success discouraged him from recording the date of purchase as he did in *John a Kent.*

As against the second alternative date, late in 1595 or early in 1596, I have already done my best to show that the riots of that year and their sequel make these months not specially probable, but specially improbable. Mr Fleay's explanation of the instructions to delete the lines as to Bishop Fisher being sent to the Tower by finding in them a dangerous allusion to the Earl of Hertford being sent there in October 1595 is surely unhappy. Fisher was sent to the Tower for denying the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, and as Elizabeth claimed and exercised this supremacy the censor's alarm needs no other explanation.

As for Professor Oliphant's suggestion of 1599 as the date of the composition of *More*[1] I will say no more as to the development of Munday's style than that in cases of multiple authorship such an argument seems doubly dangerous, as assuming certainty for the proposed attributions of the several scenes and ignoring the natural difference between a man's style when working alone and when working in collaboration. So late a date as 1599, moreover, takes us fifteen years away from the last mention of Ogle the wigmaker and some ten years away from the last mention of Goodal. It offers no explanation of the date, '...Decembris 1596,' or how *John a Kent* and *More* came to be bound in bits of the same manuscript. Lastly,

[1] For a discussion of Dr Schucking's arguments for a still later date, see Professor Chambers' contribution, p. 144.

it assigns the play to the period when Alleyn had temporarily left the stage (October 1597 to 1600). Though Professor Oliphant is a fellow-believer in Shakespeare's authorship of the three pages, and in other respects has done good work for the cause, I cannot fight under his banner in this respect. If *More* can be proved to be as late as 1599 I should regard the date as an obstacle to Shakespeare's authorship of the three pages so great as to be almost fatal. I say 'almost' fatal advisedly, because the other evidence produced by Sir E. M. Thompson and Mr Dover Wilson seems to me so strong that in spite of obvious difficulties I should be unable wholly to dismiss it. And if I were tempted to dismiss it, the next time I read the three pages I should become a lapsed heretic. Contemporary history, both of the theatres and the streets, helps our attribution; the handwriting helps it; Mr Dover Wilson's arguments from misprints and spelling help it. But to me personally the alpha and omega of the case is that in these three pages we have the tone and the temper of Shakespeare and of no other Elizabethan dramatist I have read.

I had written as far as this when, as a result of a chance conversation with Dr Greg, Professor R. W. Chambers came to reinforce our little company of upholders of Shakespeare's authorship of the 'three pages.' By contributing the last of the papers here printed Professor Chambers has provided a reasoned basis for the conviction expressed in my last paragraph on the ground of 'general impression.' He first shows that the remarkable resemblance between the passages on order and authority in *More*, in *Troilus and Cressida* and in *Coriolanus* is due not to copying or

imitation but to the same mind reacting, at long intervals, in the same way to the same ideas, and he quotes other instances of resemblances between early and late plays of Shakespeare only explainable along these lines. As Professor Chambers develops his analysis of Shakespeare's attitude to crowds the three pages appear no longer in need of defence as Shakespeare's; they become explanatory of this attitude, revealing Shakespeare's humorous sympathy with the puzzled minds of men in the street, a sympathy which in other passages has been misinterpreted as mere ridicule and scorn. To show that we can understand Shakespeare better when we allow the three pages to take their modest place in Shakespeare's work crowns and completes all other methods of proof, and this final paper has notably increased my hope that the contributions which I have had the honour of bringing together and thus introducing may be held collectively to have proved their case.

I. APPENDIX

ACCOUNTS OF THE ANTI-ALIEN DISTURBANCES OF 1595, 1586 AND 1593 FROM CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS

1595

HERE are the events of 1595 (i.e. Ladyday 1595–Ladyday 1596) as recorded in the 1605 edition of Stowe's *Annales of England*, and the 1607 edition of *The Abridgement or Summarie of the English Chronicle*, 'first collected by master Iohn Stow, and after him augmented with sundry memorable Antiquities, and continued with maters forrein and domesticall, vnto this present yeare 1607. By E. H. Gentleman,' i.e. Edmond Howes who signs the address 'To the Honest and friendly Reader.' In the case of each event recorded we quote the fuller account.

1595. In the moneth of May after the grant of two fifteenes towardes the cleansing of the towne ditch: the same was begunne to be cast from Moregate towardes Bishopsgate, where that worke was ended.

Abridgement, p. 499.

This yeere by meanes of the late transporting of graine into forraine countries, the same was here growen to an excessiue price, as in some places from foureteene shillings to foure markes the quarter, and more, as the poore did feele, for all thinges els, what soeuer was sustenance for man, was likewise raised without all conscience and reason. ...Some prentises and other yoong people about the citie of London, being pinched of their victuals, more then they had beene accustomed, tooke from the market people in Southwarke, butter for their money, paying for the same

but 3*d*. the pound, wheras the owners would haue had 5*d*. For the which disorder, the said yoong men, on the 27. of June were punished by whipping, setting on the pillorie and long imprisonment....The 29. of June, being Sunday in the afternoone, a number of vnrulie youths on the tower hill, being blamed by the warders of Tower street ward, threw at them stones, and draue them backe into Tower streete, being hartened thereunto by sounding of a trumpet, but the trumpeter hauing been a soldier, and many other of that companie were taken by the sherifs of London and sent to prison. About 7. of the clocke the same night, sir John Spencer lord maior rode to the tower hill, attended by his officers and others, to see the hill cleared of all tumultuous persons, where, about the middle of the hill, some warders of the tower, and lieutenants men being there, tolde the maior, that the sword ought not in that place to be borne up, and therefore two or three of them catching hold of the sworde, some bickering there was, and the sworde bearer with other hurt and wounded: but the lord maior, by his wise and discreete pacification, as also by proclamation in her maiesties name, in short time, cleared the hill of all trouble, and rode backe, the sworde bearer bearing up the sword before him.

The Queenes maiestie being informed of these, and sundry other disorders committed in & about her city of London, by vnlawful assemblies: And some attempting to rescue out of the hands of publike officers such as had bin lawfully arrested, whereby the peace had bin violated and broken: Her maiestie, for reformation thereof, by proclamation dated the 4. of July, straightly charged all her officers, both in the city, and places neere adioining in the counties of Midlesex, Kent, Surrey and Essex, that had authority to preserue the peace, and to punish offenders, more diligently, to the best of their powers, see to the suppression of all offenders against the peace, vpon paine to be not only remooued from their offices, but to be also punished as persons maintaining or comforting such offenders. And

because the late vnlawfull assemblies & routs were compounded of sundry sorts of base people, some prentises, and some others wandring, idle persons of condition Rogues & vagabonds, and some colouring their wandring by the name of souldiers, her maiesty, for better direction to her officers of Iustice, and inquisition to be made, notified her pleasure to her councell to prescribe orders to be published, and straightly obserued, and for that purpose a Prouost marshall with sufficient authority to apprehend all such as should not be readily reformed and corrected by the ordinarie officers of Iustice, and that without delay to execute vpon the gallowes by order of martiall law. The orders prescribed, were the same day also by proclamation published. Sir Th. Wilford knight, was appointed prouost marshal for the time, he rode about, and through the City of London daily, with a number of men on horsebacke, armed, with their cases of pistols &c. This marshal apprehended many vagrant and idle people, brought them before the iustices, who committed them to diuers prisons. On the 22. of July were arraigned[1] in the Guildhall of London 5. of those vnruly youths that were apprehended on the Tower hill, they were condemned of high treason, had iudgement to bee drawne, hanged, and quartered, and on the 24. of the same moneth they were drawne from Newgate to the tower hill, and there executed accordingly.

In this time of dearth and scarcity of victuals, at London, an hens eg was sold for a peny, or three egs for two pence at the most, a pound of sweet butter at 7*d*. and so the like of fish or flesh, exceeding measure in price, such was our sins deseruing it. *Annales*, pp. 1279–1281.

This yeare in February, 1595 [i.e. 1595/96], the Lord Maior and Aldermen, as well for expelling vagrant people out of the Cittie, reforming of common abuses to be aiding to the Clarks of the market, for redresse of Forrainers false

[1] The *Abridgement* adds, 'in presence of the Earle of Essex, and other sent from the Queene.'

waightes and measures, as to be assistant vnto all Constables, and other ciuil officers for the more speedy suppression of any distemperature that may arise by youth, or otherwayes: they ordained two Marshals, vz. Maister Reade, and Maister Simpson, and after them M. Roger Walrond was admitted alone. *Abridgement*, p. 502.

In the year 1595 the poor Tradesmen made a riot upon the Strangers in *Southwark*, and other Parts of the City of *London*; whereupon was a Presentment of the great Inquest for the said Borough, concerning the outragious Tumult and Disorder unjustly committed there upon *Thursday June* 12, 1595, and the Leaders were punished, and also the chief Offenders.

The like Tumults began at the same time within the *Liberties* (as they are called) where such Strangers commonly harboured. And upon the Complaint of the Elders of the *Dutch* and *French* Churches, Sir John Spencer, Lord Maior, committed some young Rioters to the Counter. And when some of their Fellow-Apprentices and Servants gathered in a Body, and attempted to break open the Counter, and deliver the Prisoners, the Maior went out in Person, and took twenty, or more of them, and committed all to safe Custody; and promised to proceed against them with all Severity, as he signified in a Letter to the Lord Keeper, dated 12th of June, 1595.

A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster. By John Stow. Very much enlarged by John Strype. London, 1720. Vol. II. p. 303. Part of a chapter on 'Strangers settled in London.'

1586

Recorder Fletewode to Lord Burghley[1].

Right honourable and my singular good Lord, this present daie, from two of the clocke untill six, my Lord Maior with some of his brethren, th' Aldermen, and myselfe, dyd examyne certaine apprentices for conspiring an insurrection in this cittie against the Frenche and Dutche, but speciallie against the Frenche, all things as lyke unto Yll May Daye, as could be devised in all manner of cyrcumstances, *mutatis mutandis*; they wanted nothing but execution. We have taken fyve, all of an age, yet all under 21, four of them Darbishire borne, the fyfte borne in Norhamshire. We are searching and seeking for the principall captayne. We hope we shall heare of him this present night, for he hath bene working all this day in the Whyt Hall at Westminster, and at his coming home we trust to have him. We have this night sett a standing watche armed from nyne untill seven in the morninge, and do meane to contynue so long as it shall be thought convenient unto your Honor, and the resydue of my Lords.

Mr. Alderman Woodcocke, who marryed the wydowe of Mr. Lanyson, shall be buried uppon Mondaye next. Sir Rowland Hayward is extreme sicke, and greatly distressed (our Lord comfort him!); my Ladie his wife is likewise verie sicke.

This night Mr. Attorney Generall sent his man unto me to sett my hand and seale unto a warrant to summon a quest of enquirie to appeare tomorrow at Westminster Hall. The citizens when they shall heare of it, will lyke thereof verie well, for they all crye owt that justice may be done uppon those traitors[2].

[1] Quoted from Thomas Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her times* (1838), II. 308.

[2] The persons concerned in Babington's conspiracy. [Wright's note.]

The foresaid apprentices, being of the mysterie of plasterers, are commytted unto Newgate uppon the Quenes Highnes and her counsells comandement, where they are lyke to remayne, untyll they be delivered by speciall warrant. Here is presentlie no other thing worthie of writing. Wherefore I beseech God to preserve first her Majestie, and then your Lordship, from all those traitors and such other wicked people.

From the Guylde Hall, this present Tewesdaie, the sixt of September, at seven of the clocke in the eveninge, 1586.

Your Lordships most humblie bounden,
W. Fletewode.

At the sending away of my man this Weddensday morning, all the bells of London do ring for joye, that, upon the 7th of this monethe, being as this daie, Ao. 25, H. 8, her Grace was borne. There will be this daie but specially great feastings at supper. I have been bidden owt this night to supper in six or seven places.

1593

From John Strype's *Brief Annals of the Church and State under the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, being a continuation of the *Annals of the Church of England*. Vol. iv. London, 1731.

Num. cvii.

Strangers, Flemings *and* French *in the City of* London. *And Complaints of them and Libels against them; Anno* 1593. MSS. Car. D. Hallifax.

They contented not themselves with Manufactures, and Ware-Houses, but would keep Shops, and retail all manner of Goods. The *English* Shopkeepers made several Complaints and Remonstrances against them. Whereupon a strict Account was taken in every Ward of all Strangers

inhabiting within *London*, with their Servants and Children. And Certificates were returned the 4th of *May*. When the Total of all the Strangers, with their Children and Servants, born out of the Realm, were 4300. Of which 267 were Denizons.

Another Scrutiny was made the same Year, 1593, by Order of the Chief Magistrates. Which was done by the Ministers and chief Officers of the Foreign Churches in *London*, and in the same Month of *May*. By which the Number of the Strangers of the *French*, *Dutch* and *Italian* Churches, did amount to 3325. Whereof 212 were found to be *English* born.

Complaint of them.

The Artificers *Freemen* within the City and Suburbs in *London*, made Complaint, by several Petitions, against the Trades and occupations exercised by Strangers. And upon due Information the Housholds appeared to be only 698

Libels set out against the Strangers.

While these Enquiries were making, to incense the People against them, there were these Lines in one of their Libels.

'Doth not the World see, that you, beastly Brutes, the *Belgians*, or rather Drunken Drones, and faint-hearted *Flemings*; and you, fraudulent *Father*, *Frenchmen*, by your cowardly Flight from your own natural Countries, have abandoned the same into the Hands of your proud, cowardly Enemies, and have by a feigned Hypocrisy, and counterfeit shew of Religion, placed yourselves in a most fertile Soil, under a most gracious and merciful Prince. Who hath been contented, to the great Prejudice of her own natural Subjects, to suffer you to live here in better Case and more Freedom, than her own People.—Be it known to all *Flemings* and *Frenchmen*, that it is best for them to depart out of the Realm of *England*, between this and the 9th of *July* next. If not, then to take that which follows. For

that there shall be many a sore Stripe. Apprentices will rise, to the number of 2336. And all the Apprentices and Journeymen will down with the *Flemings* and Strangers.'

Num. CVIII.

A Rhime set up against the Wall of the Dutch *Church-yard, on* Thursday May *the 5th, between Eleven and Twelve at Night. And there found by some of the Inhabitants of that Place; and brought to the Constable, and the rest of the Watch. Beginning,*

You, Strangers, that inhabit in this Land,
Note this same Writing, do it understand.
Conceive it well, for Safe-guard of your Lives,
Your Goods, your Children and your dearest Wives.

The Court, upon these seditious Motions, took the most prudent Measures to protect the poor Strangers and to prevent any Riot or Insurrection: Sending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; resolving that no open Notification should be given, but a private Admonition only, to the Mayor and discreetest Aldermen. And they not to know the Cause of their sending for. Orders to be given to them to appoint a strong Watch of Merchants and others, and like handicrafted Masters, to answer for their Apprentices and Servants Misdoing. The Subsidy-Books for *London* and the Suburbs, to be seen: how many Masters, and how many Men, and of what Trades, and if they use double Trades. The Preachers of their Churches to forewarn them of double Trades. And such as be of no Church to be avoided hence. And a Proclamation of these Things to be made publickly in *Guild-Hall.*

After these Orders from the Council Boards, several young Men were taken up, and examined about the Confederacy to rise, and drive out the Strangers—Some of these Rioters were put into the Stocks, carted and whipt; for a Terror to other Apprentices and Servants.

MSS. Car. D. Hallifax.

II. THE HANDWRITINGS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

By W. W. Greg

§ 1. *The Distribution of the Hands.*

THE palæographical study of the *More* manuscript was first systematically undertaken in the Malone Society's edition of the play printed in 1911. The different hands in which the manuscript is written were there clearly distinguished and the portions contributed by each fully, and I believe accurately, set forth[1]. It will not be necessary here to do more than briefly summarize the facts.

The manuscript contains six different hands, exclusive of that of Edmund Tilney, the Master of the Revels, who, as censor, made certain notes and alterations and is probably also responsible for a few marginal marks. These hands the edition designates as S, that of the scribe of the original play, and A, B, C, D, E, those in which the additions are written. I shall use the same symbols in the following discussion, but shall for convenience use each to designate indifferently the handwriting or the scribe that wrote it.

S is responsible for the whole of the original fair draft of the play so far as it has survived (one or more leaves are missing after folio 5 and again after folio 11) but took no part in the revision. He wrote a well-

[1] On p. 67 the head-line inadvertently gives the hand as B instead of A, and at p. xviii, l. 28, C is a misprint for B.

formed and very regular hand with almost meticulous care, but it is distinctly of a literary rather than a professional type. The duplicate endings (the last nine lines were cancelled and rewritten in an expanded form) show that the writer, if not the author himself, at least worked under his immediate supervision. On the other hand, in l. 1847, the reading 'fashis', certainly a scribal error for 'fashiõ', is a mistake with which it is difficult to credit an author transcribing his own work. The few incidental alterations do not seem to afford evidence either way.

A writes nothing but folio 6ª (verso blank), which is clearly inserted in the wrong place. The addition belongs to scene xiii and is apparently intended to replace ll. 1471–1516 on folio 19ª, but it has never, it would seem, been definitely incorporated. It is unquestionably an author's draft, alterations being made *currente calamo*. It is in a general sense parallel to the original passage and borrows its first line therefrom, nor can I, for my part, detect any clear difference of style. Moreover, it is worth remark that one reason for the substitution would seem to have been the presence of an attack on 'the Prince' which might certainly be considered offensive, and that a somewhat similar though milder passage also appears in the revised version and is again cancelled.

B, an ill-formed current hand, appears in several additions of different sorts in different parts of the play. It is first found filling folio 7ª, the first page of an elaborate insertion which replaces a considerable section of the original draft. B's contribution is a slightly expanded version of the original scene iv which has been cancelled. Apart from such divergencies as would inevitably be introduced by a

very careless scribe, the revision differs from the original mainly in the clown's part, the introduction of which appears to have been the motive of the substitution. This part is evidently the original composition of B, for he has added speeches by the same character subsequently, namely in the margin of scenes vi and vii (folios 10^a–11^a), but the slavish manner in which the rest is copied hardly suggests an author revising his own work[1]. Except for the marginal additions just mentioned, we do not meet B's work again for certain till we come to folio 16, which is entirely his. Here the first 67 lines form an

[1] The apparent improbability of the whole scene being transcribed, and so roughly transcribed, for the sake of introducing these few very poor speeches, has led to the suggestion that in this page we have the original draft of the scene in question substituted by the irate author for S's fair-copy, because the latter had ventured to suppress his vapid clown's part. This ingenious theory I feel bound to reject on various grounds. It is perhaps no strong objection that the revised scene is crowded onto one side of a leaf of paper, the verso of which was originally left blank. But on literary grounds alone it seems to me fairly clear that the clown's part is a later insertion—note the awkwardness of anticipating Lincoln's question in l. 57—and this view is confirmed by other considerations, for while there are no less than seven alterations made in the clown's part in the course of composition, there is not a single one in the rest of the scene. Further, it is difficult to suppose that the author in originally writing the scene would have fallen into the error of giving the speeches beginning at ll. 42 and 51 to Lincoln. The second of these blunders the writer himself noticed and corrected, but the earlier remained till altered by the substitution of the name 'Williã' by C in the course of the general revision. Both speeches are correctly ascribed by S. As to the motive for transcribing the whole, it should be observed that there is not very much room for insertion on folio 5^b and also that the insertions and substitutions are more extensive, especially at the beginning, than those in scenes vi and vii.

addition at the end of scene ix of the original. This differs markedly from the earlier insertion, being throughout the original work of an author composing as he wrote: there are a number of alterations made *currente calamo*, and note that the speakers' names were added later, for ll. 21–35, which were cancelled as soon as written, are without them. Again, I cannot say that I detect any difference of style between the original scene and the addition. The last piece of B's handiwork, ll. 68–73 on folio 16^{b}, is the rough draft of a speech, intended as an introduction to the same original scene ix, which is found transcribed with other matter into its proper place by C[1].

C, the most extensive and most widely distributed of the revising hands, approaches more nearly than any other to the professional type both in caligraphic style and in the distinctive use of Italian script. In it are written no less than four and a half pages, two slips, and numerous marginal directions. This last fact, in conjunction with that already noticed, that C transcribes a rough draft by B, points to a playhouse reviser and makes it unlikely that any of his work is original composition. We first find him continuing the elaborate composite insertion begun by B on folio 7^{a}. On the verso of this leaf C writes a scene of which there is no trace in the original as it now stands, and at the foot of the page adds the stage-direction for another scene, which is then written by D on folios 8–9. In C's scene there are a few altera-

[1] Hand B should be compared with that of *The Captives*, &c., MS. Egerton 1994 (fols. 52–95) at the British Museum, which is presumably Thomas Heywood's. There is a considerable resemblance both in the writing and the spelling, but there are also differences which make it impossible to venture on an identification.

tions but not of a kind necessarily to imply authorship. C edits D (as he edited B) throughout his three pages, adding several of the speakers' names and apparently supplying half a line in one place. Subsequently C is found writing folios 12^a, 12^b, 13^a and the top half of 13^b. These three and a half pages contain a revision of scene viii, the original version of which is only partly preserved. The whole has been re-arranged, and a good deal has been rewritten, the Falkner-Morris portion being recast in prose. It is pretty clear, I think, that this revision was not the work of the original author, but neither is there any reason to ascribe it to C, whose slips appear to be those of a copyist rather than a composer. After these three and a half pages had been written, and folio 13^b completed by E, C fitted them into their place, supplying head and tail links on slips pasted on to the cancelled original pages, folios 11^b and 14^a. Of these, the second, as we have already seen, begins with some lines transcribed here by C from a rough draft by B. Whether B was the author of the whole link is uncertain, though it seems likely: that C was not appears from an evident error of transcription in l. 20.

D, the hand that writes three pages (folios 8^a, 8^b, and 9^a—9^b being blank) completing the composite insertion begun by B and C, supplies a revision of the beginning of scene vi, the original version of which is almost entirely lost. It is without question the hand of an author composing as he writes, probably with great fluency. The writing is in some respects careless and impatient: speakers' names are omitted or miswritten, and in one place, after complicated alteration and deletion, the passage was left in such a tangled state as to call for C's intervention.

The work of E is confined to the lower half of folio 13b, on which he added an extension of the revised version of scene viii. There is not very much point in this supplement, which looks as though it had been added rather to fill up the blank half-page than for any weightier reason, a fact suggesting that it may well be an after-thought by the writer who effected the revision to which it is appended. The style appears to be identical. There is nothing to prove the addition autograph, but if we assume C's contribution to be a transcript it is natural to suppose that E is the hand of the revisional author.

The general lines of distinction between the six hands are quite clear, and I believe that the foregoing account may be accepted as correct. At the same time it is only fair to add that brief marginalia and alterations can often be only conjecturally assigned, and it must not be supposed that the identifications proposed in the Malone Society's edition are by any means all equally certain. Particularly it should be mentioned that hands C and D were once believed to be the same, and that although the weight of palæographical authority is at present certainly against this view, it has not yet been universally abandoned.

I am anxious not to lay any undue stress upon the evidence of authorship that can be deduced from handwriting, but I think that the following conclusions in regard to the additions are at least plausible. A is an author revising his own work. B on folio 7a (scene iv) is transcribing with small original additions the work of another writer; on folio 16 (scene ix) he is making an addition to a scene originally written by himself. C is a transcriber only, copying on folio 7b a new or revised scene by an unidentified author, on

folios 12[a], 12[b], 13[a] and part of 13[b] a revision by E of an original scene (viii) by some other writer, and on the slips (folios 11*[b] and 13*[a]) links to the same scene written at any rate in part, and perhaps wholly, by B. D is a writer producing an entirely new version of a portion of scene vi originally written by the same author as scene iv. E is a writer making an addition to his own revision (transcribed by C) of another author's original scene viii. It follows, of course, if these inferences are correct, that the original version in hand S is not throughout the composition of a single author. This is a view that has lately been urged with considerable force by Mr Oliphant, whose work I shall have further occasion to mention.

Of the six hands under discussion, four can with greater or less confidence be identified with those either of known authors or of known documents, while the remaining two, A and B, are sufficiently individual to allow a hope that they too may be identified when the hands of the period come to be more widely studied. Meanwhile, we must be content with knowing that S is the writing of Anthony Munday and E of Thomas Dekker, that C also appears in certain dramatic 'plots' belonging to Lord Strange's and the Lord Admiral's companies, and that D may perhaps be the hand of Shakespeare himself.

§ 2. *The Identification of Hands* S, E, *and* C.

When discussing the hands in the Malone Society's edition of *More*, I came to the conclusion, for a reason already indicated, that the hand (S) in which the whole of the original fair draft of the play is written, was that of a scribe merely, that is of someone who was

not himself the author of any part of it. Within a year the late J. S. Farmer issued a facsimile of the manuscript of *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, a play then in the possession of Lord Mostyn, which was seen at a glance to be in the same hand S of *More*. This play bears at the end the signature 'Anthony Mundy' and proved on investigation to be autograph throughout. The fact that Munday was well known as a dramatic author of course made the suggestion that in *More* he played the part of a mere scribe unreasonable, and in announcing the discovery in the *Modern Language Review* for January 1913 I certainly assumed him to have been the author of the original text, though I did not actually make the assertion. The inference was perhaps a natural one, but is not therefore to be excused, for it is clear that at most the facts established that Munday was at least part author. In the case of a piece written by several playwrights in collaboration it is likely that one of them would be charged with the task of preparing the fair-copy. Fortunately the error in my assumption was detected by Mr E. H. C. Oliphant, an ingenious Australian scholar, who, working on the hypothesis that more than one style was traceable in the original draft, published an interesting analysis of the play in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* for April 1919, which may very likely be on the right lines, even if it should need modification in detail.

The inference as to authorship was not the only mistake I made in drawing attention to the identity of handwriting in *More* and *John a Kent*. At the end of the latter play appears the fragmentary inscription '...Decembris 1596', concerning which I made the

fortunately guarded remark: 'I am by no means certain that the date at the end of the play is autograph, though it is probably contemporary.' However, if the date is not autograph—and it probably is not—though we can, of course, say that the play was presumably not written after that year, it need not be contemporary except within wide limits. The importance of this lies in the fact that Munday's known autographs can be arranged in a chronological series. They are *John a Kent*, *Sir Thomas More*, and the preliminaries to his *Heaven of the Mind*, dated 22 December 1602, in Additional MS. 33384 at the British Museum. In the style of the writing *More* resembles each of the others more closely than these do one another, and must therefore occupy an intermediate position; while, *John a Kent* being not later than 1596 the order must be that given above. Relying on 1596 as approximately the date of the earlier play, I formerly suggested 1598–1600 as that of *More*, but since 1596 is really only a downward limit the date inferred from it can, of course, be no more.

The fallacy was pointed out by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson in a contribution to the Bibliographical Society's *Transactions* (1919, xiv. 325) on 'The Autograph Manuscripts of Anthony Mundy,' in which, by means of minute palæographical analysis, he was able not only to demonstrate the identity of the hand and the order of the manuscripts, but to suggest the relative length of the intervals that separate them, holding that 'while *More* is in a general sense intermediate between the other two MSS., it lies much closer chronologically to the earlier one.' It is very gratifying to find my perhaps hasty conclusion as to

the order of the manuscripts thus confirmed by a veteran palæographer, and what he says concerning the relative intervals certainly accords with my own feeling on the subject. At the same time I am bound to say that the four pages written in 1602, doubtless at a sitting and in circumstances of which we are absolutely ignorant, afford rather poor evidence of the general character of Munday's hand at that date. Sir Edward proceeded to suggest, not however on purely palæographical grounds, that *John a Kent* may have been written about 1590 and *More* about 1592–3. These dates are certainly consistent with the evidence of handwriting, and may very possibly be correct; still I cannot feel, and I do not think that Sir Edward would himself maintain, that they rest on any very secure foundation.

But though certainty may be unattainable, speculation is not therefore idle, and it may be worth inquiring whether, assuming the 1602 autograph to be typical, the date of *John a Kent* must necessarily be placed before 1596[1]. The two hands certainly differ to a marked degree, but I do not think, allowing for

[1] In the case of so voluminous a writer as Munday there seems a good chance of further autographs coming to light, which may help to establish the character of that of 1602. I should like also to say that, while there is at present nothing to suggest that the date on *John a Kent* is autograph, I do not myself consider the suggestion as impossible as Sir Edward seems to think. The signature of the 1602 manuscript is clumsily written in what Sir Edward calls Munday's pseudo-Italian hand, while that at the end of *John a Kent* is in an ornate and flowing script which bears not the smallest resemblance to the other. But many writers had more than one style of signature, and there is no reason to doubt that in both instances Munday's name is autograph. In that case he was able, at least at the beginning of his career, to write a caligraphic style absolutely different from his ordinary hand, and I see no reason

the rapid development of a hand in constant practice (a point on which Sir Edward lays stress), that we can safely say that the change is greater than could have taken place in the six years from December 1596 to December 1602. At the same time *More* certainly resembles the earlier hand much more closely than it does the later, and it is probably safe to say that, unless the writing of the 1602 manuscript is abnormal, *More* cannot well be later than 1597–8, and that should *John a Kent* prove to be before 1596, as it well may, a correspondingly earlier date must be assigned to *More*.

What has just been said applies, of course, to the original version of the play as written by Munday. But greater interest attaches to the question of the date at which the revision took place, and before passing on it is desirable to point out that, whenever Munday may have performed his part, an early date for the additions is somewhat discountenanced, though not disproved, by another line of argument suggested, but not fully developed, by Sir Edward. The two plays clearly once belonged to the same company, for they must have been bound at the same time since

to suppose that he was incapable of producing the exquisitely written date, had he set himself to do so, though I do not suggest that there is any reason to suppose that he did. (Compare the account of Dekker's hand below, p. 53.) I should add, however, that while the signature seems in the same ink as the text, that of the date is different, which makes it pretty certain that it was a later addition. In connection with Munday's signatures it may be remarked that the one reproduced in Collier's *English Dramatic Poetry* (1831, III. 92, 1879, II. 474) is not autograph but a forgery clumsily copied from a memorandum by Dekker found among the accounts of Philip Henslowe. Though Munday is frequently mentioned in the famous Diary, his hand does not now appear in it.

portions of the same leaf of a thirteenth-century manuscript were used, and the covers were inscribed with the titles in the same theatrical hand[1]. Moreover, the very similar manner in which the two manuscripts have suffered from damp 'leaves little room for doubt that they must at some period have been laid aside together, in close contact with each other, and so remained undisturbed perhaps for years.' It is natural to suppose that it was during this period of neglect that the last leaf of *John a Kent* suffered the mutilation which has deprived us almost wholly of the end of the play, and in that case the dated inscription, which has shared in the damage, must, of course, have been made before the play was laid by. But the most natural 'cause of the neglect of the MS. of *Sir Thomas More*, in which its companion *John a Kent* was also involved,' would be its rejection—in revised form if my view is correct—by the censor. This then would point to the rejection and probably the revision likewise having taken place in 1596 at earliest. The argument, however, will clearly not bear pressing, for even supposing that the fortunes of the two manuscripts were as closely bound up with one another as Sir Edward plausibly assumes, it is, of course, not impossible that they may have knocked about in the chests of the company for some years before being consigned together to their 'damp limbo[2].'

[1] See below, p. 56.

[2] If it could be shown (as is not improbable) that the date December 1596 was that at which *John a Kent* passed out of the hands of its theatrical owners, the fact that the manuscript was then perfect and that it appears to have suffered in company with *More* would indicate 1596 as the downward, though not the upward, limit for the revision of the latter play.

That hand E was that of Thomas Dekker I never myself doubted, though the fact that I was unable to convince Sir George Warner of the certainty of the ascription induced me to refrain from positive assertion in the Malone Society's edition. It is pleasant to find that Sir Edward fully endorses my conjecture. So far as I am aware the only other examples of Dekker's handwriting of approximately the same date that survive are a number of short memoranda which he wrote in Henslowe's Diary[1]. They are as follows: 30 January 1598/9, acknowledgement of a loan of £3. 10*s.*; 1 August 1599, acknowledgement of a loan of £1; 10 May 1600, receipt for £3 in part payment of a play[2]; 5 May 1602, acknowledgement, jointly with Munday, of a debt of £5; there is also a signature of 19 December 1599. Dekker's hand varied widely. The signature is always in a flowing Italian script, which is also used throughout the first entry (that of 1598/9) and for the writer's name in the body of the second (1599). The bulk of the entry of 1602 on the other hand is in a bold English script, including the writer's name (the entry was not signed or more

[1] One of these, that dated 1 August 1599, has been removed and is now preserved in the British Museum, Additional MS. 30262, fol. 66[b]. A letter at Dulwich from Dekker to Alleyn, dated 12 September 1616, is too late for useful comparison. The text is in English script, the signature in Italian, both easily recognizable in spite of the lapse of time. In another letter, undated but of the same period, the signature alone is autograph.

[2] The entry, which is in Henslowe's hand, is subscribed: 'by John Day to the vse of Th Dekker Harry Chettle and himselfe'. Of this the first seven words are in one hand, presumably Day's, the remainder in another, probably Dekker's. This at least was Collier's view, and I now think that I was wrong in rejecting it in my edition of the Diary.

likely the signature has been cut away). All the rest, namely the entry of 1600 such as it is, and the dates of those of 1599 and 1602, together with Henslowe's name in the same, is in an Italian script, but one of a much clumsier type, not unlike what Sir Edward calls Munday's pseudo-Italian hand. Of Dekker's addition to the *More* manuscript the text is English, the speakers' names and directions pseudo-Italian.

The main interest of the entries lies in the possibility of tracing a progressive change in the English script. It is rather a subjective matter, but I seem to detect a certain development in breadth and flow as well as in pressure between August 1599 and May 1602 and a similar development between the writing in *More* and August 1599. There is, however, nothing to suggest that the *More* addition need be earlier than about 1597. Possibly, had the entry of 1598/9 been English, it might have helped towards a more definite conclusion.

One other point, however, is worth mention. The loan of £3. 10*s*. recorded on 30 January 1598/9 was for the purpose of discharging Dekker from the arrest of the Chamberlain's men (Diary, folio 53). From this we may reasonably infer that he had quarrelled with that company, but also that he had had relations with them at no very distant period. He is first known to have written for the Admiral's men for certain on 8 January 1597/8, and from this date he was kept for some years pretty constantly employed. We may, therefore, take 1597 as the latest year in which he can have been working for the Chamberlain's company. Munday is heard of in connection with the Admiral's men about the same time, his first payment being just before Christmas 1597.

Hand C I originally assigned to a playhouse reviser. Of this we now have further evidence. It appears, namely, that the same scribe also wrote the 'plot' of the *Seven Deadly Sins* preserved at Dulwich[1] and likewise a fragmentary 'plot' of an unidentified play in the British Museum (Additional MS. 10449, folio 4). Of these, the former belonged to the Strange-Chamberlain company and probably dates from 1591 at latest. The fragment, though the play to which it relates is not known, must from the cast have belonged to the Admiral's men and can, I believe, be dated as certainly before 16 November, and perhaps before 13 March, 1598, for reasons which I hope to publish shortly[2]. It follows that C, whoever he may have been, left the one company and joined the other probably between the beginning of 1591 and the end of 1597. There was a reconstruction of the Admiral's company in October 1597, and this may have been the occasion of his joining it. At the same time it is conceivable, though not, I think, likely, that the fragmentary plot may be earlier than this. If so, it would be reasonable to throw back C's migration to a considerably earlier period, and this is in any case quite possible. For there existed during the difficult years 1590–3 some close though rather obscure association between the two companies concerned, and it is tempting to imagine that C, originally a servant of Lord Strange, may have attached himself to Edward Alleyn and the Lord Admiral's men when the two companies started on their independent careers in the spring of 1594.

[1] There is a facsimile in W. Young's *History of Dulwich College*, 1889, II. 5.

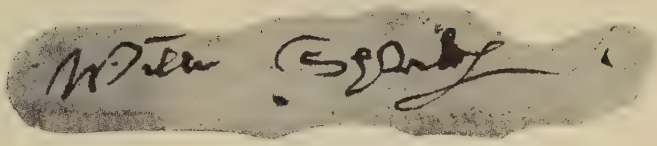
[2] In an essay on the *Battle of Alcazar* for the Malone Society.

Each 'plot' was superscribed with the title of the play in large gothic letters partly surrounded with rough pen ornament. The writing and still more the ornament enable us to identify the similar superscriptions on the vellum wrappers of *John a Kent* and *More* as being likewise written by C[1]. Unless I am mistaken C also wrote a few hasty directions in the margins of *John a Kent*.

Hand D having been allotted for special treatment to Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, it only remains for me to summarize the evidence for the date of the manuscript as a whole which I have been able to find. It will have been noticed how persistently different lines of argument point to 1597 as the *terminus ad quem* alike for the original draft and for the additions. This date may then, I think, be accepted as reasonably certain. But there is nothing to prevent the additions, and still more the original, having been written several years earlier, or to conflict in any way with the date 1593–4 proposed in Mr Pollard's Introduction.

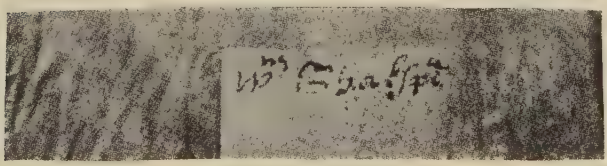
[1] Sir Edward remarks that the titles are 'not, apparently, in one hand, but in the same style.' I do not understand his hesitation.

No. 1



No. 2

No. 3

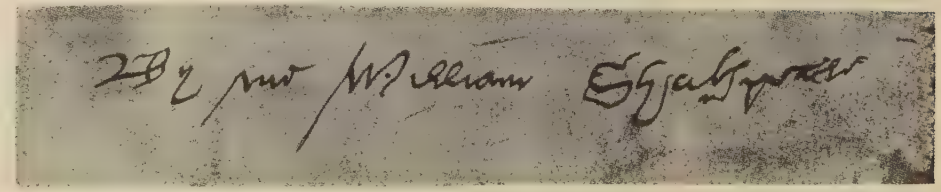


SHAKESPEARE'S SIGNATURES TO THREE LEGAL DOCUMENTS, 1612, 1613

No. 4

No. 5

No. 6



SHAKESPEARE'S SIGNATURES TO THE THREE SHEETS OF HIS WILL, 1616

III. THE HANDWRITING OF THE THREE PAGES ATTRIBUTED TO SHAKESPEARE COMPARED WITH HIS SIGNATURES

By Sir E. Maunde Thompson, G.C.B.

WHEN I contributed, in 1916, to *Shakespeare's England*—the work compiled under the auspices of the Oxford University Press in celebration of the Tercentenary of the death of Shakespeare—a chapter on the 'Handwriting of England' at that period, I ventured to suggest that a close study of, and the resulting intimacy with, the English hand which Shakespeare wrote might be applied with a fair prospect of success to the solution of some of the doubtful passages in his plays. In the subsequent study on *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, in which I attempted to show that the handwriting of one of the Additions in the play of *Sir Thomas More*, now the Harleian MS. 7368 in the British Museum, is the handwriting of Shakespeare himself, I submitted an examination of the six surviving authentic signatures of the poet, and also of the handwriting of the Addition, in support of my contention. It has now been suggested that it would be of use to Shakespearian scholars if I were to analyse and compare still more closely the individual letters of these writings and record the results of such further study, and at the same time notice how imperfect and hurried writing may have affected the normal shapes of the letters and

have led to confusion and misinterpretation, and how the grouping and linking of certain letters may have been misunderstood or misapplied. I have accordingly here attempted to follow this suggestion in a way which may be practically useful, accompanying my remarks with drawings of the letters and combinations referred to.

It will be convenient first to state briefly the position I have already taken up in regard to the six surviving signatures of Shakespeare, and to the three foolscap pages which contain the Addition to the play of *Sir Thomas More*, the composition of which has been ascribed to Shakespeare and which I have concluded to be in his autograph.

Shakespeare's Signatures

The six Signatures fall into two groups, of three in each group. The first group consists of signatures subscribed to: (1) Deposition in a lawsuit, 11th May 1612, now in the Public Record Office; (2) Conveyance of a house in Blackfriars, London, purchased by Shakespeare, 10th March 1613, now in the Guildhall Library; (3) Mortgage-deed of the same property, 11th March 1613, now in the British Museum. The second group consists of Shakespeare's three signatures on the three sheets of his will, executed 25th March, 1616, now in Somerset House. The signatures of the first group were subscribed when the writer was presumably in normal health; those of the second group, in his last illness.

All the signatures are written in the native English hand, and were subscribed within the last four years of Shakespeare's life, proving that at the close of his

career he still wrote the English hand which, in his day, a Stratford boy would be taught at school.

There is a remarkable distinction to be noticed between the two groups. In the signatures of the first group the surname is written in a shortened form; in those of the second group it is written in full.

In the first group the earliest signature (No. 1) is that subscribed to the Deposition: Willm̄ Shakp̄. The letter *p* with a horizontal stroke passing through its stem may be read as *per*, or Shakespeare may (but not so probably) have used the cross-stroke as a general sign of abbreviation[1]. In the two Blackfriars deeds (Nos. 2 and 3) the surname is abbreviated in two different ways, each differing from No. 1. From the manner in which he executed these two deeds, it is evident that Shakespeare imagined that he was obliged, in each case, to confine his signature within the limits of the parchment label which is inserted in the foot of the deed to carry the seal, and not to allow it to trespass upon the parchment of the deed itself.

In No. 2 he has written his name in two lines (the surname below the Christian name), at first thus: William Shakspē, the surname ending close to the edge of the label and having above the *e* a flourish indicating abbreviation. The signature was thus in itself complete, in a shortened form which the writer was probably in the habit of using. But then, perhaps doubting whether the abbreviated name would suffice, he added the left-shouldered letter ꝛ, thus altering the surname to Shakspēr (the abbreviating flourish being

[1] It is to be noticed that the method of crossing the stem by looping it is the same as that followed in the construction of the symbol for *per* or *par* in the Addition to the play of *Sir Thomas More*.

left standing above the now penultimate letter, instead of being in the proper position above the final letter, and thus without significance). That the ꝛ is an addition is proved by the paler colour of the ink. Further, it was inserted with difficulty; for, while trying to satisfy his superstition for confining his signature to the label, on which he had left no clear room for any addition to the abbreviated surname already subscribed, Shakespeare was compelled to encroach, though ever so little, on the parchment of the deed by writing the upper portion of the ꝛ upon it; yet he managed to draw back the lower half of the letter and ensconce it within the sacred boundary[1].

The Mortgage-deed is dated the day after the conveyance and would be executed on that day, or, if the modern practice then obtained in dealing with a transaction of this nature, simultaneously with the conveyance. After his recent trouble in trying to keep strictly to the label of the conveyance, Shakespeare now, subscribing his signature to the mortgage (No. 3), made sure of keeping it within limits by writing it, in a single line, in more careful style, not in his usual cursive writing as in No. 2, but in formal set letters: Wᵐ Shakspē—with the same abbreviated form of surname which he had first employed in No. 2 before the addition of the ꝛ.

The three signatures of the first group, then, prove that Shakespeare was in the habit of signing his surname, even in legal documents, in abbreviated form, but not always in the same form, though probably he

[1] The addition of the ꝛ was noticed by Malone, *Inquiry into the authenticity of certain miscellaneous papers*, etc., 1796, p. 137 (with a facsimile of the signature), and described by him as written 'on the very edge of the label.'

had a preference for Shakspē. But these signatures do not only differ in spelling; they differ also in style of writing. The best written signature, inscribed with freedom, is No. 1. In No. 2 the writing shows less freedom, in part no doubt owing to confinement to limited space, and perhaps also to another cause which will be referred to below. No. 3 is in a formal hand and therefore is of less value than the other two cursively written specimens for determining the character of the poet's handwriting; and like No. 2, this signature also is wanting in freedom.

Turning now to the second group of signatures, viz. the three signatures inscribed respectively on the three sheets of Shakespeare's will (which may be referred to as Nos. 4, 5 and 6), the first two can be disposed of in a few words. They are merely the authenticating signatures attached to the first two sheets. They read: William Shakspere (No. 4), and Willm̄ Shakspere (No. 5).

The most important signature is No. 6, being the signature executing the will itself: 'By me William Shakspeare.' There can be little doubt that it was subscribed before Nos. 4 and 5. The first three words are written firmly and legibly; but, in attempting the surname the sick man's hand gave way. This failure to accomplish the signature successfully after beginning so well may primarily be attributed to Shakespeare's physical condition. When the will was placed before him, he was about to subscribe probably the most important signature of his life. No doubt, by a supreme effort he braced himself to the task, and, with the sense of the formality of the occasion strong upon him, he began to write, and to write very fairly well, in scrivener style, with the formal words 'By

me.' Again under the same influence of formality, he even introduced among his letters certain ornamental preliminary up-strokes, such as we may therefore almost certainly assume he would habitually have used especially in formal scrivener's writing; and which we find abundantly employed in the Addition to the play of *Sir Thomas More*[1], but of which we have no instance in connection with his other signatures—and thus he succeeded in writing his Christian name. But then he came to an obstacle; his failing hand was evidently too weak to form correctly the difficult English *S* of his surname; his effort was exhausted, and the rest of the signature was finished with painful effort. I shall have occasion to recur to this failure. Here it is to be noted that he first wrote the surname in abbreviated form, Shakspē (as in No. 3, and as, at first, in No. 2), afterwards, however, adding the final letters *are* either on his own motion, or perhaps more probably on the lawyer's suggestion, in order to have the name in full. He then no doubt subscribed the authenticating signatures Nos. 4 and 5, not caring how he scrawled them, but in both cases spelling his surname without the *a* in the second syllable.

There is a notable point in connection with Shakespeare's signatures. He generally employed the Italian cursive long *s* (*ſ*) for the medial *s* of his surname: the only concession that he can be shown to have made to the new style. The native English long *s* (ſ) occurs in only one instance (No. 5).

[1] These upstrokes in the signature No. 6 and in the Addition are fully examined below, pp. 77–81.

Did Shakespeare suffer from writer's cramp?

The close of this general survey of the six authentic signatures of Shakespeare may be a fitting place to refer to opinions which have been entertained that in his later years he suffered from nervous disease which betrays itself in his handwriting. J. F. Nisbet in his book on *The Insanity of Genius* (1891) concludes, after examination of the signatures to the will, that Shakespeare's ailment was a prostration of the nervous system and that in his later days he was a victim to nerve disorder. In March 1919 the late Dr R. W. Leftwich delivered before the Royal Society of Medicine a lecture on 'The Evidence of disease in Shakespeare's handwriting' in which he analysed the signatures and decided that the writer was subject to the spastic or spasmodic form of writer's cramp. Without venturing to criticize these opinions, I may state that independently there had arisen in my mind, from the time when I first entered on an examination of Shakespeare's signatures, a suspicion that he had been afflicted with some nervous complaint which had left its mark upon his handwriting; and I propose to explain briefly the conclusion to which I have been led by the study of certain defects in those signatures.

The worst instances of failure, as we have already seen, are in the subscriptions to the will, namely, No. 6, the main signature, and Nos. 4 and 5, the two authenticating signatures of the first two sheets, of which No. 4 is too much defaced to be of any particular value. In the general description of the signatures I have noted that the defective writing of these three may be primarily accounted for by the

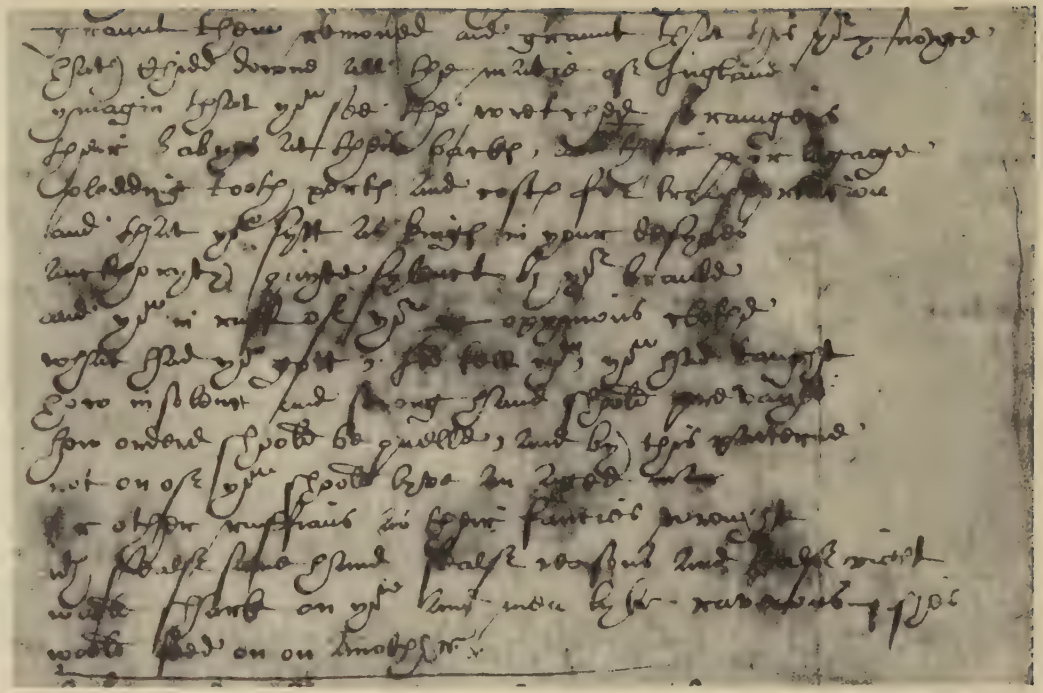
testator's weak physical condition. That Shakespeare was stricken with sudden illness may be inferred from the fact that the rough draft of the will was made use of for execution, instead of waiting for a fair engrossment. But the question arises whether his illness alone is to be held accountable for his failure in the signatures or whether there was any other contributory cause. He succeeded in writing the first three words of the main signature (No. 6) 'By me William' very legibly. The letters are a little irregular in details, but there is no sign of any approaching collapse; and to all appearance, if his state of health was alone concerned, there was no reason why Shakespeare should not have written his surname as successfully as the three preceding words. It was only when he came to attempt the capital *S* of his surname—a difficult letter, under any conditions, to write symmetrically—that his hand gave way. It failed from inability to accomplish in a normal manner the outer semicircular curve embracing the body of the letter, which leads off with a reverse action of the hand moving from right to left. The moment the hand begins to move leftwards to form the base, the curve grows angular and, instead of describing the semicircle clear of the enclosed letter, the pen abruptly jerks upward, skirting the back of the initial curve. Now I think that there can be little doubt that this sudden failure was due to something more than weakness of health, and moreover, that Shakespeare was himself conscious of inability to control his hand when attempting a curve in reverse action, as just described, under embarrassing conditions, as in the present execution of his will; and hence that failure was inevitable. That he was conscious of this nervous inability I infer from the fact

that in the signature No. 5 he shirks the difficult moment of the curve by leaving a gap in the back of the embracing semicircle. The imperfect writing of the rest of the surname in No. 6 and of the two authenticating signatures Nos. 4 and 5 I would attribute to Shakespeare's nervous condition intensified by his failure with the capital *S* of No. 6.

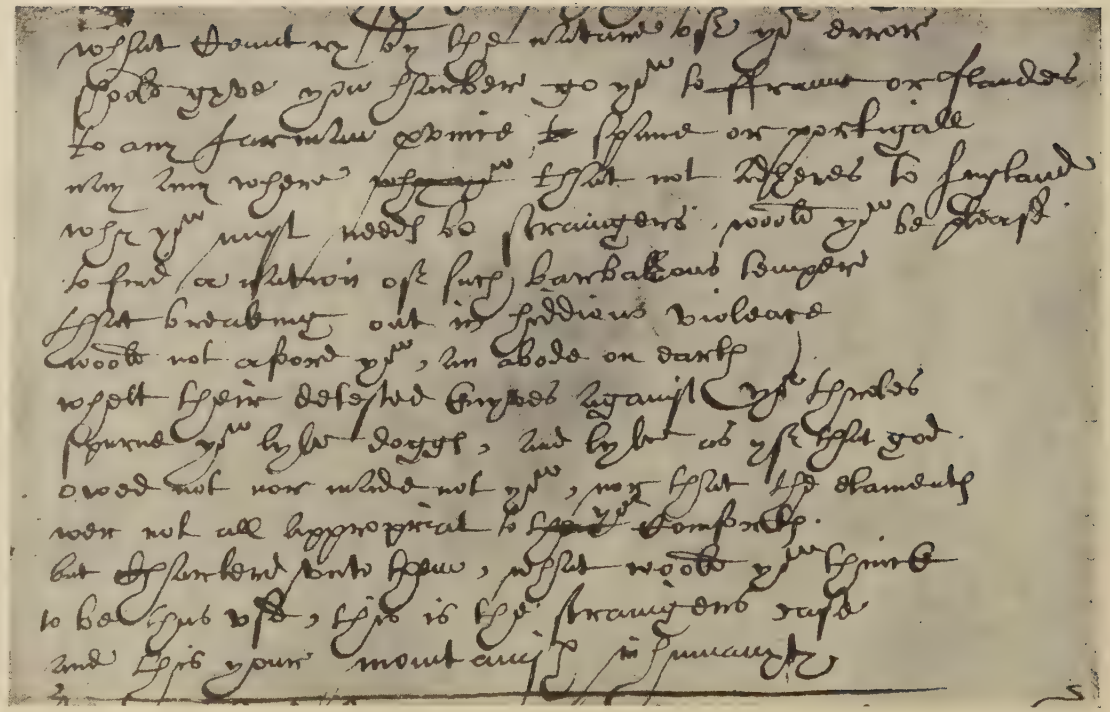
If, then, Shakespeare was indeed conscious, at the time of his last illness, of a weakness in his handwriting, in other words that he was in his later years subject, in some unknown degree, to a form of writer's cramp; and if I am right in suggesting that his failure with signature No. 6 was not altogether attributable to illness, but also to a nervous disablement in signing his name—a form of cramp which is not uncommon with those who are affected in this way —we should look for any indication of the growth of the disease that may be found in his earlier signatures.

We return to the three signatures of the first group, written under normal conditions of health, and we will examine in each one the crucial point at which we have seen that Shakespeare's hand failed when executing his will—namely, the capital *S* of the surname. That letter in signature No. 1, both in regard to the actual body of the *S* and to the semicircle embracing the letter, is formed with perfect symmetry and evidently with a rapid and unembarrassed action of the hand in describing the alternating curves; so rapidly and lightly indeed did the pen travel, that the ink failed to follow its course throughout and left only a trace in a portion of the base-curve. Here there is no symptom of nervous disease. The signature was written in May 1612, nearly four years before the date of the will.

Ten months later, however, there exist, it seems to me, in the crucial capital *S* of both Blackfriars deeds (Nos. 2 and 3) sufficient indications of embarrassment to show that the writer was conscious of weakness of hand in forming that letter of alternating curves. It will be remembered that both signatures were written within the boundaries of the seal labels, and to some extent their faultiness may be attributed to the confined space. But for our present purpose we restrict our attention to the capital letter of the surname. Taking No. 2 in hand, and comparing that crucial letter with the symmetrically written letter in No. 1, we see how far it is wanting in the free and rapid movement of that example. It was evidently written slowly, and when the pen was brought round to effect the semicircular embracing curve, moving from right to left, there is weakness in the curve at the back of the letter, and again when, instead of finishing off with a symmetrical overhead cover, the arch of the embracing curve is brought down with a heavy pressure, like the lid of a box, on to the head of the letter. When Shakespeare proceeded to sign the mortgage-deed No. 3, either simultaneously with No. 2 or on the following day, he changed his style of writing; but again we see even greater weakness in the formation of the crucial capital *S*. The embracing curve at the back of the letter is carried upwards, hesitatingly, to a disproportionate height, and the covering arch ends off in a tremulous stroke. In these two signatures, then, we find a feeble and embarrassed treatment of the capital *S* of the surname and especially in the execution of the semicircular embracing curve of the letter at the very point at which the signature No. 6 of the will breaks down



THE ADDITION (D) TO THE PLAY OF "SIR THOMAS MORE," LINES 72–87



THE ADDITION (D) TO THE PLAY OF "SIR THOMAS MORE," LINES 126–140

—a coincidence which, it seems, must be accounted for by some contributory cause other than mere temporary embarrassment, such as writing in confined space or in the presence of witnesses.

From what has been now stated, I think that sufficient evidence is afforded by defects in his signatures to show that, in the three years preceding the date of his death, Shakespeare experienced a difficulty in signing his name, arising from the growing disability to control the reverse action of the hand as above described; and as this action of the hand would be put in motion every time he wrote the initial letter of his surname, that letter would gradually come to be, so to say, the nerve-centre of the disease and the point at which his signature might break down. But it should not be assumed that such a form of writer's cramp would necessarily incapacitate him from fluent practice of the pen in an ordinary way, as in literary composition written at leisure and free from external disturbing embarrassments. It may have affected only the writing of his signature, and even then, possibly, only under conditions which might cause temporary nervousness and thus call into action the latent cramp at the crucial moment.

The Addition (D) to the play of 'Sir Thomas More'

This Addition, the composition of which has been attributed to Shakespeare, and which I submit is in his autograph, consists of 147 numbered lines written for insertion in a scene of the insurrection of Londoners against the aliens resident in the city, which was quelled by the intervention of More, then

sheriff. The lines fill three of the pages of two inserted leaves (the verso side of the second leaf being left blank); but the lines numbered 94 and 95, the last lines of the second page, are double metrical lines, thus written in order to finish off a speech without carrying over its conclusion to the second leaf. The actual number of the metrical lines of the Addition is therefore 149. The first leaf has suffered severely from damp, which has injured the writing; the second leaf is perfect.

The Addition is written entirely by one hand, in the native cursive handwriting which was still the common character, taught in the schools and generally used in Shakespeare's time, and not yet superseded by the encroaching Italian cursive, which however was making its way in England as an alternative current hand. The English hand, cast by the scriveners and writing-masters into a uniform style, was the 'Secretary hand'—a term which came to be extended to the general cursive hand which in natural course assimilated individual modifications and changes in the forms of letters. It is in this freer 'Secretary hand' that the Addition is written; subject, however, in this instance, to a remarkable variation of style, shifting in sympathy with the character of the composition.

I may here briefly state my view regarding this variation of style, which I have already made known in the study on *Shakespeare's Handwriting*. There is a marked distinction between the writing of the first two pages of the Addition and that of the third page; the text of the former is evidently written with speed, the rapid action of the hand being indicated, for example, by the unusual length of the long-shafted descending letters and by a certain dash in the formation of

others. These signs of speed generally slacken in the course of the second page, in which a more deliberate and heavier style supervenes—a change which seems to be coincident with the change in the character of the composition—the change from the noisy tumult of the insurgents to the intervention of More with his persuasive speeches requiring greater thought and choice of language. The full effect of this change in the style of the composition is made manifest in the yet more deliberate character of the writing of the third page. Here there is a stronger contrast between the light and heavy strokes than is the case generally in the first two pages, and long-shafted letters give place to others which are stoutly-shafted and even truncated. Of these two styles of writing, it may be assumed that the more deliberate style would represent the characteristic hand of the writer, being the style in which he would set down his more thoughtful scenes. There would be temporary pauses in the course of composition and corresponding suspensions of the pen and consequent loss in the momentum of the writing. In scenes of a lighter nature, on the other hand, he might be expected to compose so easily as to inscribe line after line, with little variety, in the ordinary scrivener's clerical style.

This liability to change of character under the transient influence of greater or less mental effort constitutes the most remarkable feature in the handwriting of the Addition; and changes in the actual formation of letters which may be attributed to this influence will be noted as we proceed with our study. This sensitiveness, we may add, could hardly have produced the result which is here so noteworthy, had not the handwriting been of an unusual fluency which could respond instantaneously to the

moods of the writer. He was a skilful and experienced penman. When he is writing his scrivener's hand, its uniformity denotes long and constant practice; when he is writing his thoughtful author's hand, although this is formed rather roughly and without so much attention to uniformity, its flexibility and unrestraint equally indicate full practical command of a legible and workmanlike handwriting. In both styles he shows a disposition to play with his pen, to exaggerate pendent curves, and to finish off the final letters of his words in a flourish, more especially as he approaches the end of a line; and this tendency to flourish is more conspicuous in the deliberate than in the scrivener style, the pen there working at greater leisure and the writer having, so to say, more time to be fanciful in his calligraphy, and, in addition to flourishing, to give greater variety to his letters by emphasizing them with heavier downstrokes. The letter which is most frequently flourished at the end of a word is *e*, the loop being finished off with a curved tag terminating in a minute curl or dot. This flourished letter is so persistently, though not uniformly, used by the writer that it may be regarded as one of the particular forms by which his handwriting might be identified; and it is to be remarked that it seems to have been used in Shakespeare's signatures to his will, though their imperfect condition leaves its identification doubtful. The same curved flourish is also applied to other letters, such as *d* or *ll* at the end of a word. Again, the descending bow of final *y* or final *h*, at the end of a line, may terminate in a fanciful flourish; or the tag which emerges from the top of a final round *s* may be exaggerated into an extended up-stroke in the air. The practice, also

followed by the writer, of lengthening the horizontal stroke forming a part of certain letters, such as the head-stroke of *c* or *g* or the cross-bar of *k* or *t*, when any such letter stands at the end of a word, is another similar indication of the writer's readiness to finish off his words in fanciful style. But all such flourishes, and also slack formation of curves in the bodies of words which may be almost called flourishes, are not to be counted as merely calligraphic eccentricities; for they may also be the unfortunate causes of misreadings of the letters or words which they affect.

Points of resemblance between the Signatures and the Addition

I may now briefly state the points of resemblance between the handwriting of Shakespeare's signatures and the handwriting of the Addition, both in the formation of letters and in other palæographical details, which I venture to think have justified me in my conclusion that the writer of the Addition was also the writer of the Signatures. To attempt to extract evidence from a scanty gleaning of signatures, the only authentic examples of Shakespeare's handwriting, all varying within themselves to a degree more perplexing than usual, and three of them imperfectly written in illness, might appear a hazardous undertaking. Moreover, the length of time which separates the writing of the Signatures from the writing of the Addition adds to the difficulties of comparison of the documents. The Signatures were all subscribed within the last four years, 1612–16, of Shakespeare's life. If we are to assign the Addition to A.D. 1593–4 there would remain an interval of nearly a score or

more years during which changes may have taken place in details of Shakespeare's handwriting. But, notwithstanding an apparently unpromising case, evidence has been forthcoming having a cumulative value which, though it may not at once carry conviction, yet claims the right of being duly weighed.

The mere fact of any one or more letters being of the same character in two different specimens of handwriting of course does not prove that those documents were written by one and the same person. There must be something more than bare resemblance to justify identification—some peculiarity, some trick of the hand, which is to be recognized as just as personal as a peculiarity of feature or a trick of expression or manner. The first letter in Shakespeare's hand which satisfies the condition of possessing a peculiarity which may be regarded as personal is the open *a*, linked with the *h*, in the surname of signature No. 1. This letter (the construction of which is fully described below in the Analysis of Letters) is remarkable in being formed with a spur at the back, which is no essential part of it but seems to be a personal mark of this hand[1]. And when we turn to the Addition and find therein instances of the open *a* formed with the spur, we may regard its occurrence both in the Signatures and in the Addition as significant evidence of identity. Again, Shakespeare makes use in his few signatures

[1] I have kept a constant watch for the occurrence of this spur in the numerous documents of the period that have passed under my eyes, but I have never yet observed it in any, except in Shakespeare's Signature, No. 1, and in the Addition. I have also had the benefit of the valuable assistance of my old colleague Mr J. P. Gilson, keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, who has kindly examined many collections of MSS. on my behalf.

of three out of the four forms of the latter *k* which appear in the Addition; and yet again various shapes which the letter *p* assumes in the Addition are found also in the Signatures.

In regard to a certain form of the letter *p*, I have to record an identification which I have only recently made and which therefore does not appear in my monograph on *Shakespeare's Handwriting*. Now at length a connection is found between the handwriting of the Addition and the handwriting of signature No. 3, which, it will be remembered, is inscribed in a set, uncursive style, and which I therefore could hardly have expected to see represented in the cursive lines of the Addition. In that MS. the first page and the first few lines of the second are filled with the tumultuous clamour of the rioters and their leaders and the attempts of More and the authorities to get a hearing. The text down to this point is written in the lighter style which I have described above as Shakespeare's scrivener hand, and is dashed off rapidly without a stay. But then, at line 50, the leaders of the mob intervene with the cry 'Peace, peace, scilens, peace!'—and the first three words show a sudden change in the style of writing: they are written deliberately, and the stress of the pen is heavier; and two of the letters of which they are composed are of special set forms. These two forms are also found in Shakespeare's deliberately written signature, No. 3. The letters are *p* and *e*. The *p* is a short, truncated letter, not unlike an ordinary printer's Roman lower-case p, having a short vertical stem commencing with a small hook or serif on the left, then a short horizontal cross-bar is drawn to form the base of the head-loop, which is completed

by the addition of the necessary curve[1]. The two initial *p*'s of the two words 'peace, peace' seem to be the only instances of this abnormal letter to be found in the Addition. One or two other letters bear a close resemblance to them, but they are indistinct and are probably only instances of the scrivener's normal short-stemmed *p*. The letter *e* employed in the three words is of the set form of the letter, composed of two disconnected concave curves, which is used only occasionally in the Addition. The letter *e* which stands at the end of the second word 'peace' is to be noticed on account of the flattening or extension, in a horizontal stroke, of the upper curve, such extension being a common feature in certain letters when standing at the end of words in the Addition.

Now turning to Shakespeare's signature No. 3, we find in the two final letters *pe* exact replicas (1) of the initial *p* of the first two words quoted above—a short vertical stem commencing with a small hook or serif, a horizontal cross-bar, and a completing curve to form the head-loop; and (2) of the final *e* of the second word 'peace'—a letter of two disconnected concave curves, the upper one extending in a horizontal stroke because the letter stands at the end of the word.

This identity of letters in the formally written signature with letters in the formally written words in the Addition is a further important testimony in support of the contention that in the Addition we have indeed an example of Shakespeare's handwriting.

We can imagine the probable course in which Shakespeare's treatment of the scene developed and how it affected the character of his handwriting. In

[1] In fact the letter is constructed on the lines of the second capital P of the Addition, described below, p. 107.

the first page he had written enough to represent the surging tumult and wrangling of the mob; then, when he turned the leaf and began the second page, it was time to bring into active prominence the principal figure in the play. And thus he opened the second page with a few trivial exclamations. Then he pondered on the manner of More's coming addresses to the crowd—and, while he pondered, he wrote the three words which have been quoted, mechanically using his pen in slow movement and shaping his letters in set form, just as any of us might do while our thoughts are wandering to what should be written next. But with Shakespeare there was but little need for delay. He had barely scored down the three words, when his course was decided—and his pen at once became active again and he finished off the line with the fourth word, not in formal set letters but in ordinary cursive script. Thus he resumes and runs on in the rest of the second page with his composition, inscribing More's preliminary speeches in a style of writing gradually becoming less formally clerical than that of the first page, and beginning to develope the more deliberate character which, as already explained, finds full expression in the writing of the greater speech which fills most of the third page.

Besides resemblances in the shapes of individual letters, two personal usages show themselves both in Shakespeare's Signatures and in the Addition, which point to identity.

In the first place, at some time or other Shakespeare adopted the practice of writing an Italian long *s* (*ſ*) as the second *s* in his surname. This letter is seen in three of the extant Signatures, Nos. 2, 3 and 6. In No. 1 the second *s* is entirely omitted in the

abbreviated surname; and No. 4 is too much defaced for a decision on the form of the letter. In No. 5 alone (one of the signatures to the will) the English long f appears. This occurrence of the English letter is curious, for Shakespeare had only just subscribed the main signature (No. 6) to the will with the Italian letter. It may be attributed to a mental lapse—an involuntary resumption of a disused style. It proves, at least, that at some earlier period Shakespeare wrote his surname with the English long f. His adoption of the Italian letter was probably a mere matter of convenience, the foreign letter being more simple and handy than the native letter which would stand rather clumsily next to the tall letter *k*. The practice of mingling Italian and English letters was not uncommon in England in Shakespeare's day; but this *ſ* was the only letter of the Italian alphabet that he adopted in his signatures. It seems, then, more than a coincidence that the only Italian letter to be found in the lines of the Addition is the long *ſ*—which occurs in the word 'seriant' (l. 17, marg.) and is added in a minute size as a correction to the word 'warre' (l. 113)[1].

[1] In the transcript of the Addition, printed in *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, p. 95, I was led by the occurrence of a waving stroke, between lines 102 and 103, attached to the word 'only' in line 102, to read it as an Italian long *s* (*ſ*) interpolated possibly to convert 'only' into 'souly' (*solely*). I also read the third word in line 103 (deleted by a double horizontal stroke) as 'hys,' a pendent loop appearing to be the tail of the *y*. But some of my friends, experts in palæography, who have examined the passage in the MS. more closely than I have had the opportunity of doing, have given an opinion that the deleted word should be read 'his,' and that the loop which I had taken for the tail of a *y* is only part of a rambling scrawl with which the whole surface of the word is covered; and further, that the supposed

The second personal usage referred to is connected with the practice of attaching fine introductory upstrokes to certain letters when standing at the beginning of a word—a practice which seems to have been chiefly in vogue among expert calligraphers and professional scribes, but was also to some extent in more general use. The writing-books of the period show that these ornamental upstrokes were attachments to letters in writing the 'Secretary' hand, the ordinary current English hand of the time; and their presence in those books, which gave in their plates the different styles of handwriting practised by professional calligraphers and writing-masters, proves that upstrokes must have been a common feature in the copy-books of children at school. It is also in this connection an interesting fact that their employment in writing lessons persisted down to our own times, and that it ceased only when the copy-book passed away as an old-fashioned, but, for all that, a by no means useless, instrument of popular education.

As stated above, the principal signature, No. 6, to Shakespeare's will, written evidently with formality, is introduced by the words 'By me'; and the *m* of

Italian long *s* is nothing more than a pen-flourish finishing off the scrawl or one of the deleting strokes. However, it is not agreed how the scrawl is to be interpreted. A suggestion that it is intended for an ampersand (symbol for 'and') can hardly be accepted, as it bears no resemblance to the ampersand of the English hand of the period.

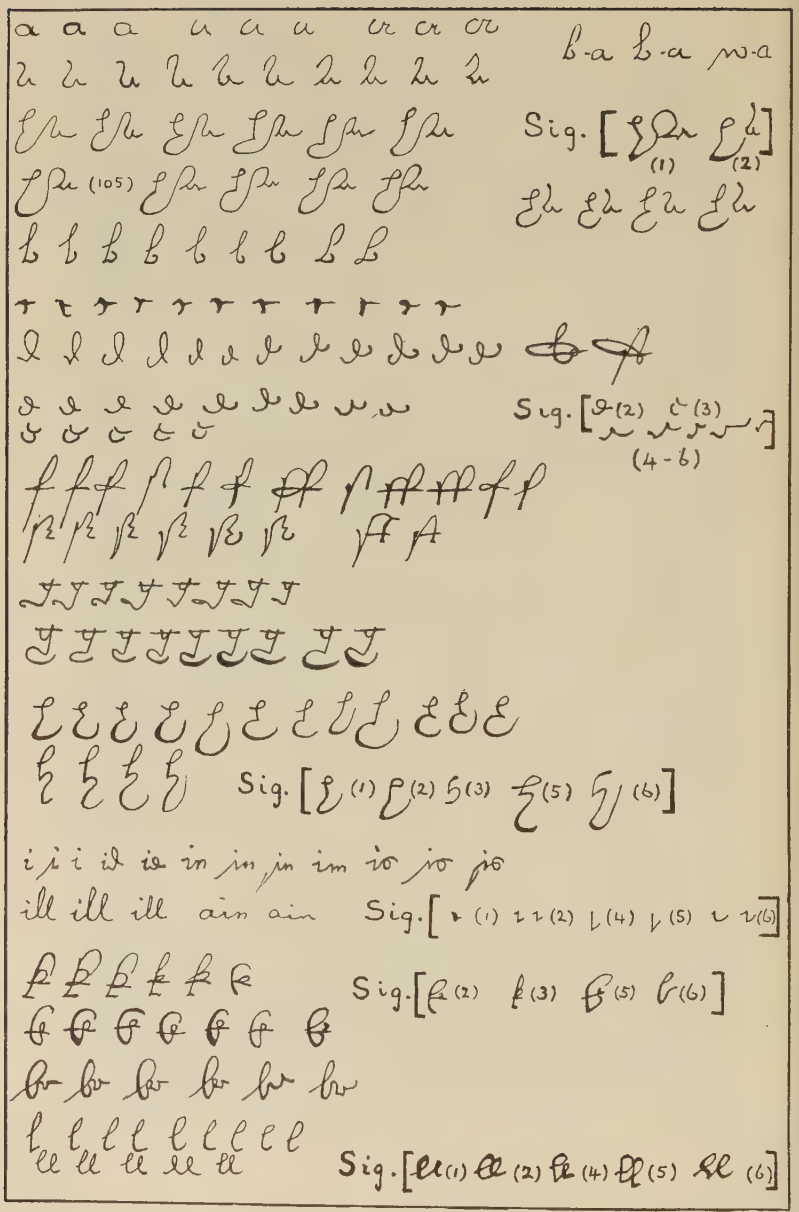
I venture to submit that, as it was the practice of the writer of the Addition to use a single stroke of the pen for deletion, while a double stroke is here employed, and as it would be futile to write an emendation in the tangle of a deleted word, the deletion and the scrawling are not the work of the author, but of some would-be corrector or correctors who have not been altogether successful in their endeavour.

'me' and the *W* of the Christian name are both furnished with delicate upstrokes. Hence it may be inferred that the employment of such ornaments was a habit with Shakespeare—a habit which he would have first acquired in his school-days—and that in any written work from his hand there would be found instances of this practice. Accordingly, in the lines of the Addition we are not surprised to see frequent upstrokes attached to one or other of the amenable letters. Yet the mere occurrence of these upstrokes in one of the Signatures and in the Addition is not in itself to be taken as a proof that both documents come from the hand of the same writer. It is not the use of the upstrokes, but the style in which they are written that is significant and suggests identity. Of the two upstrokes in signature No. 6, while the first, attached to the *m*, is of medium length, the second belonging to the *W* is remarkable in being unusually long and in leading off with a finely-drawn narrow opening which resembles an elongated needle-eye, a formation so rare that it suggests a personal peculiarity of the writer; but, leaving the consideration of this latter upstroke for the moment, it will be convenient to turn to the Addition and survey the larger field of upstrokes which it presents.

The upstrokes in the Addition are fairly numerous; but their insertion does not appear to have been governed by any rule, but rather to be due to the passing mood or fancy of the writer. Planted pretty closely in some lines; in others they are sparse. The letters to which they may be attached are *i*, *m*, *n*, twin-stemmed *r*, *v* and *w*, when any one of them is the first letter of a word; but there are more or less numerous instances of omission to attach the up-

strokes. The two letters of which there are the largest number of upstroked examples are *w* and *m*: the former letter is used in the total number of lines nearly 80 times, and only 25 of them are without the upstroke; and of *m*, out of more than 60 instances, not a third part are unprovided. On the other hand, out of some 40 examples of *n*, little more than a third part have the upstroke; and, of the more limited examples of *i*, *r*, and *v*, those with, and those without, upstrokes are practically equal.

Most of the upstrokes of the Addition are of a simple character, that is to say, they are delicately fine strokes carried up obliquely by a single action of the pen. But they vary in length: being in some instances short, more generally of medium measurement, and occasionally of exaggerated dimensions. This tendency to lengthen the upstrokes beyond normal limits has effected a change from the simple stroke. Unconsciously, no doubt, the writer began to feel the need of getting some support for the lengthening strokes, something to give an impetus to the extended upward motion of the pen; and accordingly we find this relief secured by the introduction of an auxiliary quick preliminary downstroke which, starting first, catches the upstroke, forms in conjunction with it a barb, right or left, as e.g. in 'is' (l. 62), 'moore' (l. 45), 'must' (l. 130), 'nor' (l. 136), 'rebell' (l. 114), 'unreverent' (l. 110), 'with' (l. 51), 'weele' (l. 142), and imparts the desired impetus. A further developement takes place when the auxiliary downstroke happens to fall on the very path to be occupied by the upstroke and is actually covered by it as the latter travels in upward course: a combination which is betrayed by the thickening or intensifying of the stroke, as in



THE SMALL LETTERS OF THE SIGNATURES AND THE

ADDITION (D) TO THE PLAY OF "SIR THOMAS MORE"

w (l. 55), *r* (l. 56), *w* (l. 74), *m* (l. 89), *m* (l. 90), *i* (l. 95), *w* (l. 108), *w* (l. 125), *n* (l. 144). But it might happen that the upstroke in its course would deviate at some point and thus fail to cover some part of the underlying auxiliary downstroke, and in fact leave exposed a space shaped like the elongated needle-eye noticed above in the second upstroke of the signature No. 6. Such a failure and its result would indeed be a rare occurrence. But, by a happy chance, it does occur in a single instance in the Addition, in the upstroke attached to the *n* in the word 'needs' (l. 130)[1] where we see the creation of an elongated needle-eye exactly similar to that in the signature.

Is it reasonable to imagine that two different writers should possess the same trick or turn of the hand which could thus produce two instances of a figure so identical in form in two separate documents?

To return to the two upstrokes in signature No. 6, it will be noted that, apart from the remarkable instance of resemblance just referred to, which may indeed be considered sufficient to identify the writer of the Addition with the writer of the Signatures, the same delicate style is maintained in both documents. It is also a curious coincidence that *m* and *w*, the two letters which, as we have seen in surveying the upstrokes in the Addition, are, of all the amenable letters, those most subject to have the attachment of upstrokes, should happen to be the two letters carrying upstrokes in that signature. Of course the use of an upstroke in conjunction with a capital is irregular; but it is quite evident that in this instance, it may be from forgetfulness or confusion of mind in his weak state, Shakespeare did proceed (might it be caused by

[1] See Plate IV.

a subconscious association in his thoughts of *m* and *w* as the two letters most subject to the upstroke?) to inscribe an upstroke to accompany the capital *W* of his Christian name. The long oblique stroke is carried up far above the line of writing and stands in the air, as if in expectation of a capital letter; but the capital *W* has to be united with it at a lower level, as if the writer suddenly found that he must ignore the portion of the upstroke extending overhead, in order to form the capital on the usual lines of that letter.

Analysis of the alphabets of the Signatures and the Addition

[In the following analysis of the individual letters, both small letters and capitals, which are found in Shakespeare's Signatures and in the Addition (D) to the play of *Sir Thomas More*, it is to be noted that the Addition takes precedence in the descriptions, as being the more important document, both for actual extent and for palæographical value; the Signatures on the other hand affording far slighter material for analysis. But, at the same time, whenever reference is made in the general descriptions to any feature in the Signatures, care has been taken to state clearly its provenance; and further, in order to guard against ambiguity, all notes and remarks which concern the Signatures alone are enclosed within square brackets.

I have also found it convenient to coin two words, viz. 'pre-link' and 'post-link'; the first to define the linking of a letter with a foregoing letter, the other its linking with a following letter.

Letters of the English 'Secretary' hand (both small and capital), which do not occur either in the Addition or in the Signatures, are given in the Plates, for convenience of reference. They are enclosed in curved brackets.

With regard to the drawings of letters which occupy

Plates V–VII, it has not been possible, with the limited space at disposal, to do much more than to present them in skeleton-outline. But it is hoped that this will be sufficient to illustrate the construction of the individual letters.]

i. *The Small Letters*

Letter a. The letter *a* appears in the Addition in several forms, which may be arranged in two groups. The first is the group of the normal closed letter; the second is the group of the normal open letter.

The normal closed letter is the scrivener's letter of the period, which differs but little from the letter in our modern English cursive hand. As a rule, it is here neatly formed and of a broad type. In rapid or careless writing, however, there is a natural tendency to leave the ring of the letter more or less open at the top, when it may be mistaken for a *u*; but this imperfect form must not be regarded as anything more than an accidental variety of the closed letter. There is also in the Addition another variety, the origin of which may likewise be ascribed to rapid writing. It is a disjointed letter in which the ring and the minim, instead of being written in close conjunction, stand apart and are only held together by a top link (as in the modern German cursive letter), the ring being not always perfectly closed. Thus written, the letter may be mistaken for *æ* or *oi* (see Plate IV, ll. 130, 131, 133). The gradual developement of this dislocation of the normal closed letter may be followed in its stages in the documents of the time. But in a final shape it is not often found; and therefore its occurrence as a finished and uniform letter in the Addition (where it appears some two dozen times, chiefly in the first page where the writing is in the scrivener

style) would suggest the inference that the writer had learned its use, as an alternative variety of the normal closed letter, in the course of education.

It is to be noticed that there occur (ll. 92, 93) two abnormal *a*'s (each as the indefinite article), formed like the disjointed letter just described, but also having a hooked forelimb which is one of the special features of the second group. This composite letter is found nowhere else and may be a freak of carelessness.

The normal open letter and its varieties which constitute the second group are more elaborate in construction. The primary letter is open at the top, like *u*, and in this respect its form does not vary. Attached, as a kind of forelimb, to its first minim is a tall vertical or slanting stroke, inclining to concave curvature and either clubbed or thickened at the top, or furnished with a preliminary bow or hook on the left side. The clubbed forelimb usually merges at once with the first minim; the hooked forelimb either merges in the same way, or, more frequently, is carried obliquely and independently towards, or quite down to, the base-line of writing, and the two minims of the open letter are added to its under-side, the butt-end of the forelimb, generally finished in a fine point, being left uncovered. If, however, the forelimb is inclined to curvature, the butt-end may assume a different shape, as will presently be explained.

The existence of the forelimb, which is a conspicuous feature in the construction of the letter in many examples of the English hand of the Elizabethan Period, and which can be traced back to earlier times, seems to have invited the practice, which occurs in

some hands, as it does in the Addition before us, of linking certain letters with the open *a* by means of an overhead arched link which incorporates the forelimb. Such linkings are *ha*, *ma*, *na*, *pa*, *sa*, *ua*, the most frequent being *ha*; but, before noticing them, it will be of advantage first to examine the instance which occurs in Shakespeare's signature, No. 1. For the handwriting of this signature is on a larger scale than that of the Addition and therefore affords a favourable opportunity for more clearly explaining the construction of the open *a* as modified by being linked with the preceding *h*.

[In the Signatures of Shakespeare the closed *a* (not always perfectly formed) is used, except in Nos. 1 and 2. In the surname of No. 1 the *a* is the open *u*-shaped letter. It is connected with the preceding *h* by means of an overhead arched link proceeding from the underline pendent bow of that letter. Its construction is as follows. The pen, instead of breaking off when it had completed the finishing stroke of the pendent bow, continues to carry it upwards, and arriving at the base-line of writing proceeds to describe a figure resembling a rather irregular circle on a larger scale than that of the body of the letter: first swerving to the left, to gain room, it describes the left-hand half of the circumference; then, having reached the crown of the arch where the link may be said to have discharged its proper function, it proceeds to describe the right-hand half of the circumference, into which it first incorporates the concave forelimb of the open *a* and thus forms the back of the letter in course of construction; next, having now been brought down close to the base-line of writing, the pen moves horizontally to the left and

forms a pointed projection, or spur, from the lower end of the back of the letter, and would thus complete the full circle but for a minute space left unoccupied between the point of the spur and the up-risen link; then the pen, without being lifted, moves to the right along the line of the spur, and at its root adds the first minim of the open *a* and then the second, both minims being rather negligently formed and sloping backward. It is important to note that it is the sustained curving action of the hand in the developement of the circle that provides room for the creation of the spur.]

To return to the Addition: the best example therein of the linking of *ha* just described occurs in the word 'that' in l. 105. After making allowance for the smaller scale of writing, it will be seen that the formation of the open letter *a*, accompanied with its spur, is exactly the same as that of the corresponding letter in the Shakespearian signature. Other instances are to be found, but more hurriedly written, as e.g. 'has' (l. 12), 'hath' (l. 102), 'that' (ll. 117, 135), 'harber' (l. 127). The tendency to the curving action, which seems inherent in this hand, has the effect in many instances, both when the open *a* is linked with other letters mentioned above as well as with *h*, and also even when it is written independently, of lengthening the exposed pointed butt-end of the fore-limb in the direction of spur-formation, but in no instance so decisively as in the linking with *h*.

To conclude these remarks upon the arched linkings of the open *a* with other letters, it is to be borne in mind that such linkings are not uniformly made use of. The pairs of letters for the most part are also subject to linking in the ordinary way with the

common links which may unite any couples of letters. There are also many instances in which *h* with its pendent underline bow and open *a* with its standard forelimb come together and seem made to invite each other to join by means of the overhead arched link, yet curiously remain independent; the pendent bow hangs in suspense under the line and the unbending forelimb is left in the air.

[An instance of this standing apart of the two letters is to be seen in Shakespeare's Signature No. 2. The pendent bow of the *h* is curved upwards but stops short just when it reaches the base-line of the writing, and the forelimb of the open *a*, clubbed at the head and curved, merges directly with the first minim of the letter[1].]

The two forms (closed and open) of the *a* of the two groups are used indifferently in the Addition; but the open letter with the forelimb is generally preferred, and it is used more frequently than the simple letter at the beginning of words or when it stands alone as the indefinite article[2].

It is noticeable that the writer of the Addition

[1] In *Shakespeare's Handwriting* I incorrectly stated that the two letters were linked, but that the ink had partially failed to mark the full course of the link in the extension upwards of the pendent bow of the *h* to join the forelimb of the *a*.

[2] In connection with the history of the forelimb of the open *a* group, there is a curious and interesting instance of its transmutation, through oblivion of origin, into a conventional symbol. It occurs in the Audit Office Revels MS. containing a list of the plays acted before Charles I and his Queen in 1636–7, from which a facsimile is given in Mr Ernest Law's *More about Shakespeare 'Forgeries,'* 1913, p. 59. Here the scribe, using the ordinary *a*, marks it in almost all instances with an emphatic acute accent, which can be nothing but a survival of the obsolete forelimb.

generally observes a rule not to link a letter, which does not naturally pre-link, such as closed *a*, to a letter which does not naturally post-link, such as *b*, *o*, *v*, *w* (which turn-in the final curve and thus present no point of connection). But in a very few cases, when closed *a* follows one of those letters, it is provided with a very minute hyphen too small to be of practical use: perhaps a lingering reminiscence of early schooling.

Letter b. The main stem of this letter is normally provided with a well-defined initial loop, which however is not always closed and may thus become an open bow. The main stroke should be carried down direct to the base-line of writing and there form a characteristic sharp point at the base of the letter, whence the finishing curve starts; but in rapid and careless writing this sharp base-point is lost by the rounding of the base, as in our modern letter. That this base-point was an essential feature in the true formation of the letter is shown by an instance of the letter written swiftly and loosely, in which the point is even looped (l. 146). The base-curve is finished off by being turned in towards the main stem, thus causing the letter to be not post-linkable. If a link should occur, it is to be regarded as belonging to the following letter.

Letter c. The letter *c* is formed by two independent strokes: the first vertical; the second horizontal. The vertical should be slightly curved or hollow-backed, sometimes beginning with a short head upstroke or serif, and being at first firmly impressed but then gradually fining off to a point. The curve is fairly well maintained in the more rapid and lighter hand of the scrivener style; but in the more deliberate hand

of the latter part of the Addition it is straightened and is more heavily impressed. The horizontal is a finer stroke, proceeding from the top or from near the top of the vertical, and is generally of moderate length, except occasionally when the letter stands at the end of a word. In a few instances an abnormal foot is added at right angles to the base of the vertical.

The letter pre-links at the top of the vertical; it post-links by means of the horizontal.

Letter d. This letter is always in the round, looped form; and the loop is almost invariably clearly written —only rarely, when in reduced size, is it blind. The letter is usually fairly upright; but when it follows a tall letter, such as *l* or long *s*, the loop is generally bent back in a more horizontal position and is lengthened; not however after double *l*. At the end of a word the letter is often finished off with a flourish dotted at the end. This letter, when diminished in size, and looped *e* when written large, are very much alike and may easily be confused and induce misreadings.

Letter e. This letter is in two forms. The first, which is the ordinary form, is the more cursive looped letter—the loop reversed. The loop is usually clearly written, but at the end of a word, and written hurriedly, it is sometimes blind or slurred. Like *d*, it often ends in a flourish and dot. Final *e* after *k* (as in 'like') is often negligently formed, the loop being blind or slurred and flourished. The likeness between *d* and looped *e* and their possible confusion have been noticed above: see the two words at the end of lines 78, 79 (Plate III), 'braule' and 'clothd,' in which the final letters *e* and *d* may be declared identical.

The second shape of *e* is a more formal letter composed of two concave curves, disconnected: it is in

fact only a less cursive variety of the looped letter, the connection between the curves being omitted. It is employed only occasionally in the Addition. It should be noted that, like the looped letter, this form of *e* pre-links with the lower curve, and post-links with the upper curve, the lower curve being written before the upper one.

[In the Signatures, the ordinary reverse-looped letter appears in No. 2, the loop large and clear; in No. 3, the second shape, composed of two separate concave curves. In the will-signatures the ordinary letter is used, but the loop is slurred and becomes a mere tick.]

Letter f. This letter varies in different parts of the Addition, but it may generally be described as of two forms: the lighter form which is prevalent in the scrivener style of writing, and the heavier form which is more general in the deliberately written lines.

The construction of the letter of the first form, which is a long-shafted letter, is as follows: the full length of the thin straight shaft is first written, commencing well above the line of writing and descending far below it and ending in a fine-drawn point; to this the head-curve is added and is then either drawn down and inward, like the lash of a driving-whip, so as to traverse the shaft, and the horizontal cross-bar is then made—all in one action of the pen; or, if the letter stands at the end of a word (the word 'of' being the most common instance), the lash is left hanging loose and the cross-bar is omitted. In the ordinary handwriting of the time, the lash of final *f* is made to hang clear away from the shaft and is slightly clubbed or thickened at the end. In this Addition it is finished off with a flourish shaped like a left-shouldered

t. The junction of the head-curve with the top of the shaft is not always accurately closed.

The second, heavier, form of the letter has a thickened and generally shortened shaft made by drawing a descending stroke which starts from the line of writing, and then carrying the pen up again on the same stroke and thus doubling it in bulk (sometimes carelessly looping it); next, without lifting the pen, forming the upper half of the shaft, above the line, and the head-curve; and lastly finishing off the letter in the way described above, either with a cross-bar, or, in the case of a final *f*, without it.

When the letter is doubled, the down-drawn stroke of the head-curve of the first letter (which I have compared to a whip-lash) is not drawn in to the shaft, but is carried on to the descending shaft of the second letter, which is then completed in the usual way, the head-curve of the second letter out-topping that of the first letter; and the lash of this second letter is then drawn back to traverse the shafts of both letters, and then the cross-bar for both letters is made in a single finishing stroke—all by one action of the pen.

Occasionally, from failure of accuracy in the stroke, the cross-bar gets twisted into a loop. In the case of linked *ft*, the head-curve of the *f* merging with the shaft of the *t*, a long independent cross-bar is added, to serve both letters.

Letter g. The letter *g* appears in two styles, distinguished by the different methods of finishing off the tail of the letter. The construction of the head of the letter is uniform: a *v*-shaped semicircle is first written, the right-hand horn often projecting slightly above the level of the other, and the pen then makes a descending stroke to form the stem which, in the

one style of the letter, is carried down to a sufficient length and is then bent back at a sharp angle, the line being now more or less curved and being finished off with a clubbing or thickening or minute curl; or, in the other style, the finishing stroke is turned round again to the right and ends in a broad curved stroke resembling an inverted scythe-blade. The head of the letter should be normally closed with a horizontal line; but complete closure is sometimes carelessly neglected. The first style of the letter is more common in the earlier and more cursively written portion of the Addition; the second style is more prevalent in the more deliberately written lines. The variety of ways in which the descending limb of letter *g* is treated in examples of the English 'Secretary' hand of this period may justify us in regarding it as a letter in which we might specially find, from its style, a clue to the identity of the writer.

The letter pre-links by means of the left horn of the *v*-shaped head; it post-links by the horizontal head-line.

Letter h. The letter *h* is the most sinuous letter in the Elizabethan cursive alphabet[1], and invites a great variety of manipulation without essentially altering its character. The letter normally commences with a head-loop which usually stands well above the line of writing, but tends, in the course of hurried writing and especially when pre-linked, to sink more nearly to the level of the letters in the line. The shaft is then

[1] In *Ant. and Cleop.* IV. vii. 7, Scarus exclaims: 'I had a wound here that was like a T, But now 'tis made an H.' This is unintelligible as it is printed; but substitute for the capitals T and H the old English cursive minuscules *t* (a straight-cut letter) and *h* (a sinuous letter like a mangled wound), and the meaning is clear.

carried down below the base level, and thence bending to the left it describes a pendent bow below the line, and either ends there, or is carried upwards for the purpose of post-linking. Occasionally a modified form of the normal letter is used in which the shaft is carried down to the base-line, and thence, as in our modern cursive letter, springs the arch of the body of the letter, from which the pendent bow descends. [The *h* in Shakespeare's signatures Nos. 1 and 2 is normal; in Nos. 5 and 6 it is of this modified form; in No. 3 it is an uncursive letter, the signature being purposely written in formal characters (see p. 60).] In other and more frequent instances the letter, by curving the stem and then throwing off the pendent bow at a sharp angle, assumes a shape not unlike italic ε.

The letter pre-links naturally by its head-loop; it post-links by its pendent bow, either in the ordinary way by linking in the line of writing, or, if the following letter is open *a*, by means of an arched curve carried above the line in prolongation of the pendent bow (see the description of Letter *a*, above). [The letters *ha* in signature No. 1 are linked in this manner.]

Letter i. This letter plays a rather insignificant part in the alphabet of the Addition; but it has a certain interest for the purpose of the present enquiry. In no position is it a conspicuous letter. At the beginning of a word it is no more than of normal size; in the middle of a word it is often reduced, in hurried writing, to a very small scale. The letter is generally dotted.

But the writer is inclined to vary the shape of the letter by altering, under certain conditions, the normal

curved base into a pointed base, the change being governed by the character of the link connecting the *i* with the next following letter. If the link is a rising link, requiring the pen to move upwards, the writer in anticipation hastens to begin that movement and so makes the base pointed. Otherwise the base should normally be a round curve. This appears to be the general rule; but it is to be noted that it is not consistently observed.

The letter *i* is one of the letters to which the ornamental initial upstroke can be attached.

[The letter appears with both the normal curved base and the pointed base in the Signatures which have the Christian name more or less extended. In No. 6 the first *i* linked with the double *l* has correctly the curved base, while the letter linked to the *a* is pointed. In the weakly written No. 2, while the second *i* is likewise pointed, the first, which should be curved at the base, is also rather pointed. The Christian name in No. 1 is too much huddled for consideration; and in Nos. 4 and 5 the exaggerated point given to the *i* is rather to be attributed to spasmodic uncontrolled effort. All that can be fairly said in this particular is that, as in the Addition, so in the Signatures, both curved and pointed bases appear.]

Letter k. This is a letter of various forms: (1) the normal scrivener's letter, having a top-curved or looped stem, with a horizontal base-stroke, or more frequently a foot at right angles to the stem, and a central loop and cross-bar attached to the middle of the stem. This form is sometimes imperfectly or clumsily written when it post-links with *e*; and in one instance it is hurriedly written without a foot (l. 102); (2) a more cursive form; the stem curved at the top

and itself inclined to curvature; the base round (as in our modern cursive *l*) and carried up to the middle level where a small twisted loop (often blind) is described; the pen then moving horizontally to the left, to reach the stem, and then to the right, thus making the cross-bar; (3) a rare form, like No. 2, but omitting the small twisted loop, which however is represented by a heavy comma added in its place; (4) the same *l*-formation, but the end of the base-curve terminating in a minute bow (sometimes blind), the letter being thus completed without a cross-bar. This form is used chiefly in words ending in *ke*, as 'lyke,' 'shake,' the linked *e* being negligently written with the loop blind and flourished.

[In the Signatures, the *k* of No. 1 is defaced by a blot; in No. 2 (not well formed) and in No. 3, it is of the normal scrivener's type (1); in No. 5, it is apparently of the rare (3) type with a dot representing the middle loop; and in No. 6 it appears to be of the (4) type, without a cross-bar.]

Letter l. This is usually a round-backed letter; the stem looped, generally with a well-defined loop. In the same manner as that already noticed in the case of letter *i*, there is a tendency to sharpen the base curve. When the *l* is doubled, the two letters are often written on a small scale and the second rather tends to be smaller than the first, and, in consequence of the quick-curving action of the hand, they are drawn out of their correct slope and may thus offer occasion for misreading: e.g. 'rule' might be misread 'ride.'

[Some of these characteristics are to be noticed in the double *l* of the Signatures.]

Letter m. This letter is never very well formed by

the impatient writer of the Addition, and inclines to angularity. When it stands at or near the beginning of a word, the correct convexity (though angular) of its minims is usually maintained. It often runs small in the middle of a word; and when written in connection with *n* or *u* and other letters of similar formation it inclines to concavity, and from haste it is not always provided with the correct number of minims. Final *m* sometimes ends with a slightly lengthened straight minim, not turned up; on the other hand it is also sometimes concave and turned up at the end, especially in the word 'them,' no doubt owing to the curving impetus given to the hand by the preceding *e*. The letters *m* and *n* are among the letters to which the ornamental initial upstroke can be attached.

[In the Signatures may be noticed the impatiently huddled letter in No. 1; the *m* turned up in a flourish in No. 2; and the small tremulous letter with an accidental final tag in No. 3. The *m* of 'me' in No. 6 has the initial ornamental upstroke.]

Letter n. This letter generally follows the example of *m*. Final *n*, especially when following *e*, tends to be distinctly concave and turns up with a flourish, as in the word 'men.'

Letter o. This is a self-contained letter. In construction, the circle commences on the left side of the circumference, the joint not being always perfectly closed, the end of the ring even sometimes overlapping the commencement. As an extreme instance, in the word 'woold,' l. 125, the two *o*'s resemble two inverted *c*'s. But generally the letter is well-formed and is scarcely ever blind or blotted, and the circle is fairly perfect. By its construction therefore it is

neither a pre-linking nor a post-linking letter, although in practice it is linked up by preceding letters, except the non-post-linking letters *b*, *v*, *w*; but in such cases the link belongs to the preceding letter. Instances of unlinked words occur, as 'o bay,' 'w o o ld.' Occasionally (as in the case of *a*, noticed above) a minute hyphen stands between *o* and a non-post-linking letter, such as *w*, or between two *o*'s (e.g. 'w-o o ld,' 's h o-o ld'); but, as this only rarely occurs, the presence of the hyphen may be an accidental survival of a former, but discontinued, habit of the writer, dating from school-days.

In the words 'you' and 'your,' written 'yo^{u}' and 'yo^{r},' the *o* is left open at the top and is linked with the letter above the line. When following *f*, the letter *o* is sometimes jammed up close to the *f*, making a kind of monogram of the two letters. This treatment of the letter, especially in short words, is noticeable in Elizabethan handwriting.

Letter p. This letter appears in various shapes, but they may be grouped generally in two classes. The first is nearest to the normal scrivener's letter: the head has a fore-limb, shaped like the figure 2, with which the head-loop is combined and then continues with a stem or descender of varying length, rarely long and pointed, but usually short or very short and curved and carried up in order to post-link. The second class, which is in common use, has a simple loop-head, the short initial oblique stroke being slightly waved by pressure of the hand; the descender carried down to some length, sometimes to great length, often being a long dashing stroke ending in a point or being returned to the line of writing by a post-linking upstroke.

[In the Signatures the *p* of No. 2 is of the first class, with a straight stem post-linking by an up-stroke; that of Nos. 5 and 6, of the second class.]

There are also a few abnormal letters, one of which may be noticed. It is a short, truncated, deliberately written letter, resembling very nearly a printer's ordinary lower-case letter p, and having a short vertical stem commencing with a small hook or serif on the left; then a short horizontal cross-bar is drawn to form the base of the head-loop, which is completed by the addition of the necessary curve. [The letter *p* in signature No. 3 which is written in deliberately formed letters, is of this type (see above, p. 73).]

The shape of the letter *p* which is used in the symbols for *par* or *per*, and for *pro*, is that described here under the second class. [The *p*, with cross-stroke through the stem, in signature No. 1, belongs to this variety; the method of crossing the stem is the same as that followed in the construction of the symbol for *par* or *per* in the Addition.]

Letter q. There are, in the Addition, only four instances of the use of this letter; in one of them the ring is open at the top. The letter calls for no other remark, being practically of the same form as that of our modern cursive letter.

Letter r. The normal twin-stemmed English letter, composed of two short vertical strokes connected at the base by a more or less arched curve, and terminating at the top of the last limb with a shoulder by means of which the letter post-links, is in general use. It is very uniform in character, except for the natural fluctuations of the hand. The connecting base-arch is sometimes exaggerated and rises too high;

the two verticals are sometimes brought too closely together; and in post-linking there is a tendency to slur the shoulder and merge the final limb, the letter thus resembling a lower-case *n*. This is one of the letters to which the ornamental initial upstroke can be attached.

The left-shouldered ꝛ occurs here and there, chiefly in the first page of the Addition, where the writing is more of the scrivener style. This letter is always used in the abbreviated word 'yoꝛ' (*your*). [In the Signatures it is always left-shouldered.]

Letter s. There are two forms of this letter: the long ſ, employed, both single and doubled, at the beginning or in the middle of a word; and the small, round, looped letter used at the end of a word. The construction of the long ſ follows exactly that of the letter *f* already described, of course omitting the cross-bar of the latter. In the first page of the Addition, and in the second page in a less degree, the form prevails which is written with a lighter hand and which produces the shaft, in full length, from above to below the line of writing in a long pointed stroke. The head-curve is added to the shaft by a separate action of the pen, but in the hurry of writing the point of junction is not in all cases accurately closed. The head-curve, like the lash of a driving-whip, is brought down to the line of writing and there either post-links, or, if such post-linking is not permissible, it is drawn back to the shaft.

As in the case of *f*, a second heavier variety of long ſ is also employed and prevails in the third page, and to some extent appears also in the second page. In this variety a thickened and generally shorter shaft is made by drawing a descending stroke from the line of

writing, and then carrying the pen up again on the same stroke, thus doubling it in bulk, and then, without lifting the pen, forming the head-curve and post-linking it, or drawing it in to the shaft, as already described.

When the letter is doubled, the head-curve of the first f is carried on to, and is incorporated with, the descender of the second f, which is then completed as if a single letter, the head-curve of the second letter out-topping that of the first letter—the whole process being accomplished without lifting the pen.

Long f post-links, by its head-curve, with certain letters; not with others. For example, it post-links with *t*, not with *c*; perhaps to avoid ambiguity.

The small circular *s*, used at the end of a word, is generally a fairly symmetrical round loop, the loose end of which is left, in the air, at the top of the letter, hanging to the right or turned back in a curve.

A long *ſ* of the Italian type appears in the correction of a word, l. 113; and a letter of the same type, looped at the lower end, is in 'seriant,' l. 17 margin.

[Shakespeare uses in most of the Signatures an Italian long *ſ* as the medial *s* of the surname, inscribed with a slender stroke as if with the point of the pen turned inwards. It appears in Nos. 2, 3 and 6. It is the only Italian letter thus employed. In No. 5 he writes the English letter.]

Letter t. There is much variety in the forms in which this letter is written in the Addition; but they may generally be grouped in two main classes, the first following the normal type of the letter of the scriveners, with variations; the second a simpler type, also with variations. Both classes are used throughout the Addition; but the first prevails in the first two pages, the second in the third page.

The more carefully formed letter of the first class has a swaying stem, curved at the top, with a horizontal foot at the base, either extending both right and left of the stem, or only to the right; the cross-bar cutting the stem low down, or extending to the right. The top-curve of the stem may become looped, especially when linked. A less elaborate form of this class has the top-curve, but discards the foot, and its cross-bar is represented by an arm projecting to the right from near the base of the stem. This form is used very commonly linked with *h* in words beginning with *th*, and is usually written with a light hand. In rapid writing, a loop is sometimes made at the base of the stem.

The general type of the second class is a straight heavy stem with an arm, representing the cross-bar, projecting to the right from the stem, low down or even from its very base. This style of letter is roughly and forcibly inscribed and wants the finish of the letters of the scrivener's type. In careless writing it is often imperfectly or negligently written; and it also takes a looped shape, which might be mistaken for *b* or *l*. It is often written as a thick, stunted letter.

The cross-bar of *t*, when that letter is pre-linked with *f* or long f, is very prominent.

Letter u. The letter *u* (represented by *v* at the beginning of a word) is written in correct concave formation; whereas, in the cases of *m* and *n*, it has been shown that those letters, when written quickly, tend to lose their proper convexity and to lapse into concavity in the middle of a word—the action of the writer's hand in the Addition being of the downward not the rising, curve. Like *m* and *n* it is often written negligently small. It was the custom of the time to write the *u* of the word 'you' above the line,

as if the word were abbreviated; this final *u* tends to be flourished: in a few instances it stands, not above, but in, the line of writing.

Letter v. This letter is normally formed, and shows little variation. In the early part of the Addition the initial curve is in some instances written with a larger, sweeping stroke. In the deliberate hand, the heavy initial limb is to be noticed. The base-curve, being turned inwards, offers no facility for post-linking. To this letter and to *w* the ornamental initial up-stroke can be attached.

Letter w. What has been said of *v* applies equally to this letter, which in fact is constructed on the same lines, with an added initial minim. Like *v*, the initial curve is in some instances, in the earlier pages of the Addition, enlarged with a sweeping stroke; and, like *v*, this letter does not post-link. In the more deliberate hand of the third page the letter is of a heavier and more roughly formed type.

Letter x. No instance of this letter occurs.

Letter y. The normal form of this letter is written in a single action of the pen. At the foot of the initial stroke of the hand a small upward curve or fold is described, and thence descends the sweeping bow under the line, which may be carried up as a means of post-linking in the line, or, like the descending bow of *h*, it may be lifted in an arch above the line. In more hurried writing the small fold in the head is neglected, and the letter then differs but little from our modern cursive letter. A reduced form of the letter is used occasionally, which is kept almost within the limits of the letters in the line of writing; it nearly resembles a left-shouldered ȝ; and it might be mistaken for that letter.

Final *y* at the end of a word or line is often conspicuously flourished.

[A normal *y* occurs in Signature No. 6, in the introductory word 'By.']

Letter z. There is only one instance of this letter, l. 9. It is of normal type.

Abbreviations, etc.

In the Addition there are a few abbreviations of an ordinary character (Plate VI). They are:

Omission of final *n*, indicated by a horizontal stroke above the penultimate letter, as in *vppon* (ll. 19, 61).

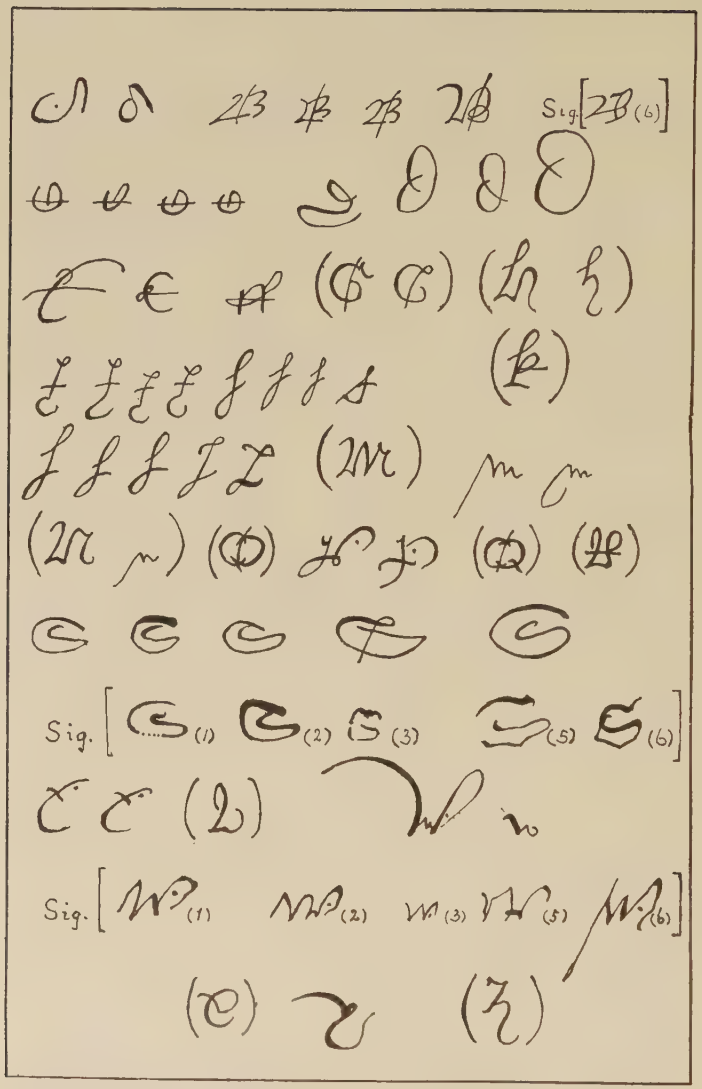
Matie, a shortened form of 'majestie,' occurring thrice (ll. 73, 101, 121). There should be a horizontal stroke above the word, indicating contraction; but in two instances it is omitted, and in the third (l. 101) it is added carelessly, perhaps by a second hand. This is the usual contracted form of the word in use for a Sovereign's royal title. In the general sense of the word, we should rather have expected it to be written uncontracted.

The letter *p* with the stem looped and crossed horizontally, the symbol for the syllable *par* or *per*.

The letter *p* with a curve drawn from the left side and crossing the stem, the symbol for the syllable *pro*.

A curve or hook rising vertically above the line, a symbol for the syllable *er*, as in the word *ever* (l. 21).

A loop, in the line of writing, at the end of a word, a symbol indicating omission generally of final *es*, sometimes of *s*. In most instances this symbol appears in a rather ornamental shape, not unlike a modern cursive *s*, for which it might carelessly be mistaken.



THE CAPITAL LETTERS OF THE SIGNATURES AND THE ADDITION (D) TO THE PLAY OF "SIR THOMAS MORE"

All the above symbols were in common use, even into the eighteenth century.

[The abbreviations in Shakespeare's Signatures have already been explained.]

ii. *The Capital Letters*

The three pages of the Addition to the play of *Sir Thomas More* together with Shakespeare's six Signatures do not afford sufficient material to yield a complete alphabet of the capital letters which we may conjecture were made use of by Shakespeare (assuming that I am right in my contention that the Addition, as well as the Signatures, is in his autograph). But it fortunately happens that the majority of the letters are represented, namely, *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *ff* (*F*), *I* (*J*), *L*, *P*, *S*, *T*, *W*, *Y*, that is, thirteen out of the twenty-four. Thus eleven, namely, *G*, *H*, *K*, *M*, *N*, *O*, *Q*, *R*, (*U*) *V*, *X*, Z, are wanting; but this number may be further reduced if certain modifications are to be admitted, as will presently be shown.

The task, then, before us is not only to analyse the forms of the letters of which we can produce examples, but also to conjecture the character of the letters which are wanting. In the solution of the latter part of the enquiry we are assisted by the fact that Shakespeare wrote the native English hand, that he did not write the imported Italian hand. The only trace of foreign influence, as we have seen, is in his adoption of the Italian minuscule *ſ* in his Signatures. He would not therefore, like many writers of his time, have been tempted to mingle Italian forms with his English letters, thus composing a nondescript alphabet. The capital letters in his Signatures are of

the English type; so too are the capitals of which we find examples in the Addition.

An interesting point is also to be noticed in the treatment of the capitals, namely, the facility with which the delicate curves of such letters as *E* (Addition, ll. 24, 30, 31); *S* (Addition, ll. 24, 25, &c.) and [Signature No. 1]; and *T* (Addition, ll. 30, 55) are accomplished. Shakespeare could hardly have claimed to be a fine calligrapher, although a fluent writer in the unrestrained scrivener style; but the larger scale of the capital letters no doubt afforded him scope for free play with his pen, and in the execution of the curves referred to he shows unusual dexterity. His hand, as a young man, was evidently naturally firm. If we are to place the date of the Addition in the year 1593–4, it would have been written in about his thirtieth year. He had then still in front of him some twenty years of strenuous dramatic composition and of actual hard manual labour with the pen before his hand was to show signs of the weakness which, as already described, is to be detected in his Signatures.

We first examine Shakespeare's extant capital letters:

Letter A. An instance of the scrivener's formal letter occurs in l. 43. It commences with an exaggerated base-curve, which is ornamented with a central dot; the body of the letter being an open angle without cross-bar. A rather simpler form, without the ornamental dot, is seen in l. 59.

Letter B. There are two forms of this elaborate letter in the Addition. The first, of which there are five instances (ll. 3, 37, 43, 59 and 89 margin), is constructed by three separate actions of the pen: (1) a

fore-limb, shaped like a plough-share or a man-of-war's ram, the pen commencing with a small curve or hook and then moving obliquely to the point of the ram and thence horizontally to the right to a sufficient length to form the base-line of the letter; (2) the top horizontal line is then drawn, and the pen descending describes the two great bows, and should then make a junction with the extreme end of the base-line; (3) an obliquely vertical stroke, inclining to curvature, traverses the body of the letter and represents the main stem of the *B*. The junction of the lower bow with the end of the base-line is not always accurately adjusted.

[The capital *B* written by Shakespeare at the head of the words 'By me' prefixed to Signature No. 6 is constructed on the same lines as the letter in the Addition just described; but, owing to his infirmity, it is malformed, and the base-line rises too high.]

The second form of the letter in the Addition occurs in the margin of l. 70. It commences, like the other, with a fore-limb, but of a different pattern: a curved bold stroke descending to the base, where the pen adds a short connecting base-curve, and then rises in a bold sweep to form the body of the letter with its two great bows, all in one action. Then the obliquely vertical stroke, representing the main-stem of the *B*, is separately added.

Letter C. A formal letter of unpretentious type, written monotonously without much variation: a circular spiral letter in reverse action, like a modern cursive capital *O* loosely written; bisected by a horizontal cross-bar—this cross-bar and the initial curve being in fact the actual letter, and the finishing curve a flourish. It is to be noted that in the portion

of the Addition written in scrivener style the capital *C* is used at the beginning of words, without regard to their position in the sentence, in preference to the minuscule letter. On the other hand, in the more deliberate or author's style, the small letter is more usual. Such personal preferences are not to be satisfactorily accounted for. It may, however, be suggested that the capital *C*, a round letter, is easily written and therefore naturally recommends itself in rapid writing.

Among handwritings of the time it is noticeable that there was often a tendency for writers to prefer one or another capital letter to the minuscule. This habit might be practised to excess and might thus become a means of identifying the hand.

Letter D. The formal capital is seen in l. 13, a sinuous letter commencing with an under-line curve returning in a long-drawn base-line and ending in a large symmetrical loop above the line. But a less formal letter—a large twin-looped *D*, dashed off at great speed—appears as the initial of the character-name 'Doll' which is entered in the margins of the Addition. This modified letter may be regarded rather as an exaggerated minuscule than a true capital—or at least an arbitrary capital. The same form of letter is used by other contemporary writers.

Letter E. This formal letter occurs thrice in the Addition (ll. 24, 30, 31): a symmetrical crescent, bisected by a horizontal cross-bar commencing with an ornamental loop.

Letter F. Double minuscule *f* represented the capital in the old English cursive hand from an early date and was so used in the Elizabethan hand. An instance occurs in l. 127.

Letter I or J. The conventional scrivener's capital used in the Addition is an awkwardly shaped letter (ll. 28, 35, 58, 89), beginning with a small looped head, a stem sloped and traversed by a cross-bar and a pendent curve below the line. There is also a simpler letter (ll. 73, 80, 99, 128, 129) having an oblique stem looped at top and bottom. A third variety, having a cross-bar, occurs in l. 58.

Letter L. There is little difference between the scrivener's normal letter and the modern looped *L*, except that it was generally in a sloping or reclining posture.

Letter P. A scrivener's normal letter stands in l. 1 —a main stem beginning with a small curve and linked with a detached limb representing the bow of the letter, within which is an ornamental dot. Another conventional shape is in l. 35; a compact letter composed of main stem, with bow attached and enclosing a dot, crossed by a curved stroke forming the base of the bow.

Letter S. There are many examples of this letter both in the Signatures and in the Addition (in the margins as well as in the text); and there is a greater variety among them than is the case with any other of the capital letters. The English capital *S* was in fact the most difficult one of the alphabet to write symmetrically. The two alternating curves which constitute the actual body of the *S* are lengthened fancifully by continuing the tail of the lower one and carrying it round the letter in an embracing semi-circle which finally forms a covering arch overhead. The most symmetrical example in the Addition is in the word 'Surrey,' l. 24. There are many exaggerations, written at speed, to be seen in the first page.

[Among the Signatures, the *S* in No. 1 is a perfect example, the several curves being well-proportioned and symmetrical. The faulty character of Nos. 2–6 has already been noticed; here I briefly repeat particulars of the capital *S* in each one (excepting No. 4, where the letter is defaced). In Signature No. 2, written on the seal-label of the deed and therefore in a confined space, the letter is not in a free hand but is hesitatingly formed, the rising curve at the back of the letter seeming to creep upward and then, instead of continuing in a symmetrical arch clear above the letter, as in signature No. 1, it is shut down flat, like the lid of a box, with a heavy hand. Signature No. 3, written simultaneously with No. 2, or not later than the following day, is also inscribed on the seal-label, not in the writer's ordinary cursive hand, as in No. 2, but in formal, set letters; and the capital *S*, badly formed[1], exhibits even greater weakness than the letter in No. 2; and both in the back curve and in the covering arch there is a tremor of the hand. In the case of both these signatures a particular form of nervousness, as already described (p. 66), may have contributed to their imperfection. Of the signatures to the three sheets of Shakespeare's will (Nos. 4–6) the last (No. 6), we may assume, was the first to be subscribed. The capital *S* is here badly deformed owing to the failure of the writer's hand to accomplish the embracing curve, first moving from right to left and then from

[1] It will be seen (Plate I) that the initial curve of the *S* is wanting, a defect probably due to the badly prepared surface of the parchment label failing to absorb the ink. It seems impossible that Shakespeare could have omitted so essential a feature of the letter; but he may have made it small.

left to right. He succeeded in forming the two curves of the body of the letter, but when he attempted to continue the tail of the lower curve in the embracing semicircle, instead of moving in the proper direction from right to left, the pen jerked upwards in a vertical line, skirting the back of the initial curve of the letter, and only then moving correctly to form the covering arch: which moreover ends in an accidental flick from the faltering pen. The curious result of this failure is that a letter has been produced which may easily be mistaken (as it has been mistaken) for an ordinary Roman capital S. In No. 5 the difficulty of the back curve has been avoided by omitting it, a gap being left between the extended tail of the letter and the covering arch.]

It may be noticed that in many of the examples of the capital *S* both in the Signatures and in the Addition there is a tendency to sharpen the curve projecting to the right, with the result of suggesting a caricature of a human chin drawn in profile. The action of the hand in this particular is common to the writer of the Signatures and the writer of the Addition.

Letter T. This letter occurs twice in the Addition (ll. 30, 55). It is a refinement of the scrivener's formal letter, being a crescent delicately shaped, with a strong cross-stroke placed towards the upper extremity of the crescent, within which is an ornamental dot.

Letter W. A formal capital of an elaborate kind occurs in l. 35 of the Addition, having a sweeping initial curve balanced by a final curve which is attached by a short base-curve and encloses an ornamental dot. Probably the initial letter of the name

Watchins, l. 59, is intended to serve as a capital, although in formation it is rather an elaborate minuscule.

[In his signatures Shakespeare made use of two forms of this capital. The more formal scrivener's letter is that which appears in Nos. 2, 4 and 5 and has the final limb attached to the middle stroke by a base-curve. In Nos. 1, 3 and 6 he uses a simpler letter, in which the base-curve is omitted. In all the Signatures except No. 5 an ornamental dot is placed within the curve of the final limb. In no instance is the letter well formed. In No. 6 the *W* has a preliminary ornamental initial upstroke (see pp. 78, 80).]

Letter Y. This letter occurs once in l. 51 of the Addition: well written with a sweeping initial curve, and formed on the lines of the minuscule letter.

Having now seen that Shakespeare formed the capital letters of his handwriting, so far as examples of such letters have been transmitted to us, generally on the lines of the formal capital letters which were used by the scriveners of his day in the native English script, it is obvious that we must have recourse to the same capital alphabet if we are to attempt to conjecture the character of the letters which remain unrepresented. At the same time we may suggest modified forms, if any appear to be admissible.

Letter G. The scrivener's capital was no doubt used by Shakespeare in its most formal shape; and probably also very commonly the more cursive letter.

Letter H. The formal letter may be conjectured, in which the pendent final bow is attached to the main stem by an arched base-curve; and probably also a simpler form in which the base-curve is omitted:

just as Shakespeare used a capital *W*, with or without a connecting base-curve.

Letter K. The scrivener's formal letter may be certainly conjectured, which is an enlargement of the minuscule and would need no modification.

Letters M and N. The formal and rather complicated letters of the base-curve type were no doubt used by Shakespeare, as by other writers; but at the same time there is reason to believe that he certainly was in the habit of writing much simpler forms of these two letters. For it is to be remarked that in the Addition the names of the characters in almost all instances begin with a capital, the most notable exception being that of More himself, notwithstanding that he is the most prominent personage in the play. His name is in all places written with an initial minuscule—or, rather, what under ordinary conditions would be read as a minuscular *m*. But it is now a question whether the letter should be so regarded; for there is evidence that both capital *M* and *N* were frequently written, as they very commonly are in our modern handwritings, in the shapes of minuscules, but enlarged. To go no further afield than the other Additions to this play of *Sir Thomas More*, instances of the use of these enlarged minuscules as capital letters are to be found by the side of the scrivener's formal letters. An instance of this use of the enlarged minuscule-form of *M*, in the hand of the writer of the Addition C, is to be seen in this present Addition (D) in the marginal correction 'Maior' (l. 26). Therefore, when we find the writer of the Addition persistently employing what to all appearance is a minuscule *m* as the initial letter of the important character-name 'More,' we may hesitate to account

the letter at its face-value, but rather assume that it is to be read as a capital. And indeed, every here and there (e.g. in the margins of ll. 55, 61, 144) the letter is written with some prominence, as though the writer intended it to be something more than the apparent minuscule. With the example of the practice of the writers of the other Additions to support us, it seems quite reasonable to credit Shakespeare with the use of the enlarged minuscules *m* and *n* to do duty as capitals, as well as of the scrivener's formal letters.

Letter R. Again the scrivener letter of the more elaborate base-curve type, following the lines of the second form of the letter *B* described above, may be included in Shakespeare's capital alphabet, though probably also with a simpler alternative.

Five letters remain to be conjectured. Three of these may with little hesitation be decided as the letters of the scrivener's alphabet, viz.:

Letters O, Q and U (V). These are not complicated letters and offer little scope, if any, for modification. We may assume that Shakespeare wrote them simply in the scrivener style. The circle of the *O* is formed in two sections and is traversed by an oblique stroke; the circle of *Q* follows a similar construction in two sections, and a simple pendent tongue completes the letter. *U (V)* may be described as an ornamental enlargement of the minuscule *v*.

Letters X and Z. These two letters, seldom called into use, we may conjecture to have been of a simple scrivener pattern.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LINKS BETWEEN THE THREE PAGES AND THE GOOD QUARTOS

By J. Dover Wilson

WHEN my attention was first seriously directed to the problem of the *More* Addition, I had already, at Mr Pollard's suggestion, undertaken a bibliographical enquiry into the nature of the 'copy' used for the Good Shakespearian Quartos, with a view to discovering if possible something about the character of Shakespeare's manuscripts. At the best, the first edition of one of Shakespeare's plays was printed direct from his autograph; and Mr Pollard has happily shown us reason for believing that this best occurred more frequently than has hitherto been suspected. At the worst, it was printed from a transcript of the original. Yet even if this worst were found to account for most of the quarto productions, such a situation need not lead us to despair. It is exceedingly unlikely that a copyist would obliterate all traces of Shakespeare's penmanship in making his transcript; and the presence of a copyist simply means that two men stand between the printed text and the original instead of one, viz. the compositor. Indeed, the fact that some of the Bad Quartos, which are almost certainly based in part upon transcripts from an original manuscript, occasionally exhibit passages closely resembling their counterparts in the Good Quartos, in punctuation, spellings or misprints, goes

to show that Shakespeare's pen could still influence the printed page, even after the lines of his verse had passed through two heads other than his own.

Lists were, accordingly, made of all the obvious misprints (i.e. misprints which have been corrected in all modern editions), and of the abnormal spellings which occur in the Good Quartos. By 'abnormal spellings' is meant such spellings as a reputable compositor of Shakespeare's day is not likely to have wittingly introduced into the text himself. Many spellings which to us seem archaic were of course quite 'normal' at that period. Yet the spelling of sixteenth and seventeenth century compositors was on the whole far more modern than that of the average author with whose manuscript they had to cope; and withal far more consistent, since at that time spelling differed not only from author to author, but often from page to page, or even from line to line, in the same manuscript. It was, indeed, this chaos of usage which forced the compositors to be more or less systematic; for, to set up a manuscript in type letter by letter would have been not only tedious but costly. Time was money, even in those days; and speed was an important element in the compositor's skill. Further, speed meant carrying a number of words at one time in the head, and the head-carrying process meant altering the spelling. Why, then, is it that abnormal spellings frequently crop up in the quartos? The answer is that they come, most of them, from the manuscript; they are words which have caught the compositor's eye. An unskilful compositor, i.e. one not able to carry many words in his head at a time, will naturally cling close to his 'copy,' and so introduce a number of his author's spellings into

print. But even an accomplished craftsman will at times let copy-spellings through—when he is tired, or when a difficult passage confronts him which has to be spelt out. Thus, by making a collection of such abnormal spellings, it is possible to learn a good deal about an author's orthographic habits. In any event, when in dealing with the fifteen Good Quarto texts[1], produced by some nine or ten different printing-houses over a space of twenty-nine years, we find the same types of misprint and the same peculiarities of spelling recurring throughout, it is safe to attribute them to the one constant factor behind them all—the pen of William Shakespeare.

Feeling that I had in this collection of misprints and spellings a body of definite information about Shakespearian 'copy,' I turned, as the reader will understand, in some considerable excitement to the *More* Addition. It seemed to me possible to put Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's thesis to the bibliographical test. To take a simple instance: the constant confusion between *e* and *d* in the quartos proves that the copy from which they were printed was in English script, in which these two letters are formed on the same pattern; to have found, then, that the Addition was written in an Italian hand would have been disconcerting, to say the least. Or again, one of the bibliographical features of the quartos is the frequent and whimsical appearance of an initial capital C, in a way which shows that Shakespeare's pen was fond of using this letter in place of the minuscule. It was therefore encouraging to note that every initial *c* on p. 1 of the Addition was a capital, eight out of fifteen were

[1] Excluding *Titus Andronicus* and *Richard III*, as suspect, and including the *Sonnets* and the two poems.

capitals on p. 2, and four out of eleven on p. 3. Too much must not be made of this coincidence; the C majuscule in 'English' is a good round letter, easy to form and distinctive, so that its spasmodic appearance is not without parallel, is, indeed, fairly common, in other books of the period. But the writer of the Addition *might* have had a liking for another capital (e.g. for A, which is Gabriel Harvey's favourite letter); and it is reassuring to find he had not. Another interesting similarity between the quartos and the Addition has recently come to light. The three pages of manuscript contain 147 lines: 45 on the first, 50 on the second, and 52 on the third. The other writers of *More* are more sparing of paper; Munday averages 79 lines to a page, Hand A 71 lines, Hand B 66, and Hand C 60[1]. Now, in printing the *Second Part of Henry IV* Sims's compositors inadvertently omitted a scene in some copies, an omission which they subsequently rectified. It seems clear that the scene in question was written upon two sides of a single sheet; and it is remarkable that it contains 108 lines, i.e. 54 lines to a page, a figure which closely approximates to that given us by the Addition. As Mr Pollard, to whom this discovery is due, writes "If anyone on other grounds is already convinced that Shakespeare was the writer of those pages and that he wrote them not long before he wrote 2 *Henry IV*, he will be pleased with the coincidence that Shakespeare in this play and the writer of the three pages in *More* seem to have put their lines on paper in much the same rather unusually expensive way[2]."

[1] The various hands in the *More* MS. were thus classified by Dr W. W. Greg in his Malone Society edition of the text.

[2] *Times Literary Supplement*, Oct. 21, 1920.

Taken singly, of course, coincidences like these prove nothing; they are at best negative evidence. But as they begin to accumulate they tend to become impressive. And when one turns to the misprints and spellings of the Good Quartos the accumulation of coincidence grows very impressive indeed.

Misprints. The commonest misprints in the printed Shakespearian texts fall into five classes. Let us take them in turn, noting the parallels in the Addition as we go along:

(i) *minim* misprints. In 'English' script minim-letters are *m*, *n*, *u*, *i*, *c*, *r*, *w*; and the large number of compositor's errors in words containing such letters prove that Shakespeare must have been more than ordinarily careless in his formation of them, that he did not properly distinguish between the convex and concave forms, and that he often kept no count of his strokes, especially when writing two or more minim-letters in combination. For example, we have 'game' for 'gain' (*Oth.*), 'might' for 'night' and 'sting' for 'stung' (*Lear*), 'sanctity' for 'sanity,' and 'the most' for 'th' inmost' (*Ham.*), 'vncharmd' for 'unharmed' and 'fennell' for 'female' (*Rom.*), 'where' for 'when' (*Oth.* and *Lear*) and 'when' for 'where' (2 *Hen. IV*), 'pardons' for 'pandars' (*Ham.*), 'arm'd' for 'a wind' (*Ham.*), 'now' for 'nor' (1 *Hen. IV*).

The excessive carelessness of the pen which wrote the Addition in its formation of minim-letters has struck every student of these three pages. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish *w* from *r* (cf. *r*yse, *w*hat l. 106; t*w*ere, e*rr*or l. 95) or *r* from *n* (v. figu*r*e l. 102, tea*r*es l. 108); the letters *m* and *n* are very often concave in form; and the writer's besetting sin is a neglect

to count the strokes of such letters, especially when they appear in combination (e.g. Linco l. 5—*in* with two minims; dung l. 12—*un* with five minims, etc., etc.). Now, of course, minim-misprints are by no means peculiar to the Shakespearian quartos, or minim-penslips to the Addition, though we fancy that their frequency in either case is somewhat remarkable. It is, for instance, noteworthy that while Dr Greg called special attention to three minim-penslips by Hand D in his edition of *Sir Thomas More* for the Malone Society, only two others in the whole of the rest of the manuscript seem to have caught his eye. All we wish here to insist upon, however, is that the writer of the quarto-manuscripts and the writer of the Addition are once more shown to be alike in their penmanship.

(ii) *a* : *minim* misprints. This second class is closely connected with the first, and is to be explained by Shakespeare's habit of sometimes leaving the top of his *a* open, or conversely of curving the initial minim of his *u* so that it appears to be an ill-formed *a*. Thus *Oth.* gives us 'coach' for 'couch' and 'heate' for 'hint' (spelt 'hente'); *Troil.* 'seat' for 'sense'; *Ham.* 'heave a' for 'heaven' and 'raine' for 'ruin'; *L.L.L.* 'vnsallied' for 'unsullied,' etc. Conversely we have 'distruction' for 'distraction' and 'Thous' for 'Thoas' in *Troil.*; 'vttred' for 'altred' in 2 *Hen. IV*; 'sute' for 'sale' in *Rom.*; 'couches' for 'coaches' in *L.L.L.*, etc.

In the Addition *a* and *u* are frequently quite indistinguishable; compare, for example, 'nat*u*re' (l. 126) with 'I*a*rman' (l. 128), and note that the first stroke of the *u* in 'nature' is curved, exactly as if the pen were preparing to write an *a*.

(iii) *e* : *d* misprints. As we have already noted, the formation of these two letters generally differs as to scale only, in the English style, a difference which the quantity of errors due to confusion between them in the quartos proves that Shakespeare was not careful to observe. A few oddities may be here given: 'end' for 'due' (*Son.*), 'lawelesse' for 'landlesse' (*Ham.*), 'beholds' for 'behowles' (*M.N.D.*), 'some' for 'fond' (*Rom.*), 'and' for 'are' (*Lear* and 2 *Hen. IV*). It would be idle to give instances of a similar carelessness from the Addition; they occur in almost every other line.

(iv) *e* : *o* misprints. The small-scale *e* and *o* are very similar in English script; they are therefore liable to confusion in rapid writing. Thus we find 'these' for 'those' and 'now' for 'new' more than once in the quartos, together with 'thou' for 'then' and 'then' for 'thou,' 'euer' for 'over' and 'ouer' for 'ever,' and so on. The distinction is generally well preserved in the Addition. But the second *o* of 'shoold' (l. 81) and the *o* of 'plodding' (l. 76) are formed like an *e*, while in 'be' (middle of l. 130), 'them' (l. 138), 'gentlemen' (l. 144), the head of the *e* shows a tendency to exaggeration, so that in the first instance at any rate we get 'bo.'

(v) *o* : *a* misprints. The quartos give us a few examples of *a* misprinted for *o*, generally where a minim letter follows, e.g. 'frame' for 'from,' 'hand' for 'home,' 'cammon' for 'common.' These may be explained by crowding and are not particularly significant. More frequently, however, we have *o* for *a*, and in words where, as often as not, no minim-letter occurs to account for the confusion. Thus *Troil.* gives us 'obiect' for 'abject' and 'Calcho's' for

'Calchas,' *Lear* 'lodes' for 'ladies' and 'O light' for 'alight,' *Ham.* 'cost' for 'cast,' *Merch.* 'lost' for 'last,' etc. Now this curious type of misprint is very neatly explained by the handwriting of the Addition, where we have frequent instances of the method of forming an *a* in which the upright becomes detached from the body of the letter, so as to give something which closely resembles *o* linked with the letter following, *oi*, or *ɑ*. Examples of this may be found in ll. 5 (great, eate), 7 (a), 9 (a), 12 (palsey), 52 (a), 57 (masters), 85 (reasons), 94 (thappostle), 108 (wash), 122 (a), 130 (pleasd), 131 (a), 133 (afoord), 142 (master). That a compositor could go the full length of mistaking Shakespeare's *a* for *ɑ* is proved by the *Hamlet* quarto in which we have 'sort' for 'sate' (1. 5. 56) and 'or' for 'a' (1. 2. 96).

In dealing with misprints i–iv, we are still in the sphere of negative evidence. Such misprints and penslips are common in books and manuscripts of the period, though we think it unlikely that many would be found which would show a general proneness to *all four* to the same extent as is shown in the quartos and the Addition. In any event our accumulation of coincidence goes forward; our confidence is not dashed as it might have been if the Addition had provided parallels to only two or three of the common quarto misprints. But the fifth type of misprint takes us on to different ground. Misprints of *o* for *a*, without the minim complication, are not common, while the *ɑ* business is probably rare; and though a search through the books and papers of the period would no doubt show that other writers besides Shakespeare occasionally formed *a* like *ɑ*, it is very encouraging to find that the Addition supports and explains the

quartos in regard to this unusual form of misprint. This last coincidence strengthens the case for identification considerably.

At this juncture, perhaps, the sceptic may demur: 'Yes, but how can you tell that a compositor faced with the three pages of the Addition would have stumbled in just the same way as his brethren who set up the quartos; you may have overlooked other penslips which would have given rise to misprints which have no parallels in the quartos.' We cannot, it is true, turn an Elizabethan compositor on to the Addition at this time of day. But we have evidence on the question almost, if not quite, as interesting. These three pages have been twice independently transcribed and printed within recent years: first by Dr Greg and later by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson; and their readings of certain words differ, while in one instance both go astray. I am not now, of course, speaking of words which have become obscure through the deterioration of the manuscript, but of difficulties due solely to the way in which the writer formed his letters. And it will, I think, be admitted that where palæographical experts, with magnifying glasses, differ or go wrong, the Elizabethan compositor working quickly in a poorly lighted room would be most likely to misprint. Let us turn then to the readings in question: l. 9 Greg 'or sorry'; Thompson 'a sorry'—l. 82 Greg 'ordere'; Thompson 'orderd'—l. 140 Greg 'momtanish'; Thompson 'mountanish'—l. 38 Greg 'Shrewsbury'; Thompson 'Shrowsbury,' while in ll. 30 and 32 both editors have 'Shrowsbury' where, as Dr Greg readily admitted when it was pointed out to him[1], they should have

[1] *Times Literary Supplement*, Nov. 6, 1919.

printed 'Shrewsbury.' In other words, the exceptionally careful and well-equipped modern editors of the Addition have fallen into four out of the five traps which most commonly led to the undoing of the compositors of the Shakespearian quartos. This may be a coincidence; but surely it is a very remarkable one.

Spellings. The Addition contains twenty-five minuscule letters (i.e. all but *x* of the alphabet), and fourteen majuscules; on the other hand the writer makes use of some 370 words. When we turn, therefore, to compare the spellings of the Addition with those in the quartos, the field of possible coincidence or divergence is greatly widened, and the argument from agreement, if agreement can be shown, correspondingly strengthened. But before we come to grips with this side of the business a few introductory remarks are necessary.

The spellings of the Addition look uncouth, if not illiterate, to a modern eye unaccustomed to read sixteenth century manuscripts. We are to-day almost morbidly sensitive in the matter of orthography, seeing that correct spelling ranks with standard pronunciation as one of the chief hall-marks of the elements of culture and social standing. The situation in Shakespeare's day was entirely different. Then a gentleman spelt as he list, and only 'base mechanicals' such as compositors spelt more or less consistently. Nor was the spelling even of learned men always preserved from vagaries by such knowledge of the rudiments of etymology as they must have possessed. As proof of this, here are a few spellings culled from the manuscripts of Gabriel Harvey, professor of rhetoric in the University of Cambridge, and one of the most brilliant scholars in Shakespeare's period:

apoticaryes, *karreeres*, *kollege*, *collidg*, *credditt*, *epithite*, *herittiques*, *interprit*, *ishu*, *meddicine*, *mallancholy*, *minnisteri*, *monasyllables*, *fisnamy* (= physiognomy), *possebly*, *shewte* (= suit)[1]. If a Greek student and university professor could spell like this, we are not to be surprised at anything we may find in Shakespeare.

In the second place, it should be noted, the probability of an abnormal spelling cropping up in the quartos depends, in large measure, upon the character of the word, seeing that the commoner the word the more likely is it to be altered by the compositor in the head-carrying process. A comparison between the spellings of Gabriel Harvey's manuscripts with those in his printed books supplies ample support to this generalisation. The first volume of Grosart's edition of Harvey's works, reprinted in their original spelling, contains over 200 pages of his writing as set up by contemporary compositors. The following are some of his most pronounced spelling tricks, as evidenced by his manuscripts, together with the number of times they occur in these pages of Grosart: 'ar' for 'are' (0); *-id*, *-ist*, *-ith* for *-ed*, *-est*, *-eth* (8); 'on' for 'one' (0); *ssh* for *sh* (0); initial *k* for *c* (3); absence of mute *e* after *c* (0); absence of mute *e* after other consonants (41); 'Ingland' and 'Inglish' for 'England' and 'English' (0). It should be noted that 'England' and 'English' are quite frequent words in the volume. The list, of course, might be greatly extended; but these instances should be sufficient to show (i) that compositors freely altered the spelling of their original,

1 Taken from a list of spellings compiled from Harvey's *Letter-book* (Camden Soc. 1884), and *Marginalia* (ed. G. C. Moore-Smith, 1913).

(ii) that, nevertheless, they sometimes introduced copy-spellings inadvertently, and (iii) that the original spelling of common words was peculiarly liable to be obliterated in print. Yet Harvey's printed works are full of spellings which we also find in his manuscripts, so much so that if his name were not on the title-pages, a very strong case could I think be made out in favour of his authorship. These spellings in print are, however, spasmodic; they are for the most part words that have caught the compositor's eye.

It follows that in Shakespearian texts abnormal spellings of common words are likely to be very scarce or even non-existent. Occasionally, however, a misprint will give us a glimpse, through the compositor's eye so to speak, of the word in the copy. One or two examples may be taken to show how the business works out. Harvey, we have noted, usually omitted the *e* after *c* in words like 'assistance,' 'temperance,' etc. Out of twenty-eight occurrences of words which we should now end with *-ce* the writer of the Addition omits the final *e* in seven instances. Had Shakespeare the same habit? If so, his compositors, like those of Harvey, covered up his tracks by always inserting the missing *e*; for there are no quarto-spellings without it. Yet the misprint 'pallat' for 'palace,' which occurs in *Rom.* 5. 3. 107, strongly suggests that here Shakespeare spelt the word 'pallac,' forming his *c* like a *t*, as might easily happen in English script; while converse misprints like 'intelligence' for 'intelligent' and 'ingredience' for 'ingredient' can hardly have arisen if the compositors were not liable to be confused by such words in their copy. There is evidence, therefore, that Shakespeare, like the writer of the Addition, sometimes omitted final *e* after *c*.

Harvey, again, always spells 'are' as 'ar,' and we may assume that the writer of the Addition generally did so also, since 'ar' occurs eight times and 'are' only once. But 'ar,' like 'pallac,' would be abnormal in print, though common enough in manuscript; and it will be remembered that the compositors in Harvey's selected pages never once give it. How then are we to discover Shakespeare's practice in the matter? Well, the contracted forms 'thar' (=they are) in *Ham.* and 'yar' (= you are) in *Lear* are suggestive up to a point. More significant, however, is the misprint 'or' for 'are' in *Ham.* 1. 3. 74, which shows us at any rate that Shakespeare *could* spell the word without the *e* mute. Similarly 'wer' for 'were,' which occurs three times in the Addition, crops up twice, by inadvertence no doubt, in *Rom.* Like Harvey, once more, the writer of the Addition spells 'one' without the final *e*, and the spelling is found eight times in the quartos. Further, the quartos give us six instances of 'on' misprinted as 'one,' which is a pretty fair indication that the two words were indistinguishable in the compositors' copy. We can feel certain, I think, that Shakespeare frequently if not always spelt 'one' as 'on.'

As a last example of common words which the Addition spells in a fashion normal in manuscript but abnormal in print, we may take 'theise' (= these), a spelling which in passing we may note is very rare with Harvey. Here the quartos afford no help of any kind, and we are not surprised. If we turn to the Folio, however, we find 'theise' in *Hen. V*, 3. 2. 122. Why does it occur here? The answer is that Jamy, a dialect speaker, holds the stage, and that when dealing with dialect compositors with a conscience will follow

their copy *literatim*. Yet there is no dialect significance of any kind in 'theise,' a spelling which may be found in almost any manuscript of the period. It is simply a piece of Shakespearian orthography, which the compositor, hypnotised by the surrounding dialect, has transferred to his stick. And the hypnosis did not cease there, for the spelling persists to-day in all modern editions. It is by no means the only instance of a Shakespearian spelling embalmed, so to speak, in the spice of comedy.

The foregoing examples only show that Shakespeare, like the writer of the Addition, spelt certain very common words in a fashion not unusual in contemporary manuscripts, though most unusual in print. We may next consider a group of spellings which had become or were becoming old-fashioned in Shakespeare's day. The Addition gives us 'a leven' for 'eleven,' a spelling which also occurs in *Merch.* 2. 2. 171, *L.L.L.* 3. 1. 172[1], *Rom.* and *Troil.*, while the variant 'a leauen' is to be found in *Ham.* Now these forms, though somewhat archaic, were not uncommon in manuscript; Harvey, for instance, uses them both. They are rare, on the other hand, in print after 1590; and their appearance in *Hamlet* (1605) and *Troilus and Cressida* (1609) is strong evidence that they were copy-spellings. 'Element' for 'element,' though less striking to the modern eye than the previous example, is probably more old-fashioned; the N.E.D. gives it as a fourteenth century form, but not later. It is, therefore, interesting to notice that 'elaments' in the Addition is paralleled by 'element' in *Ham.* 4. 7. 181 and 'elamentes' in

[1] This example, which comes from Costard's mouth, is perpetuated in modern editions.

L.L.L. 4. 3. 329. The N.E.D., again, gives 'deul' and 'dewle' as fifteenth century forms of 'devil'; and they cannot have been common in the sixteenth. 'Deule,' however, occurs twice in the Addition, twice in *Rom.* and once in *Ham.*, while the latter text gives it the added support of a misprint—'deale.' Or take another instance from *L.L.L.* (1. 1. 316)—'affliccio,' which at first sight looks like a misprint. The termination *-ccion* was quite common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as a reference to the N.E.D. will show, but unusual in the sixteenth; certainly not to be tolerated in print. But the appearance of 'affliccio' (i.e. affliccio̅) suggests that it was a Shakespearian form; and we are, therefore, not surprised to find 'infeccion' in the Addition. Similarly 'sealf' or 'sealfe,' which the N.E.D. quotes in brackets as an unusual sixteenth century spelling, was probably Shakespearian likewise, since the misprint 'seale slaughter' for 'self-slaughter' (*Ham.* 1. 2. 132) can hardly have arisen except from a miscorrected copy-spelling 'sealfe,' the *f* being carelessly abstracted from the forme instead of the *a*. Now 'self' never appears in the Addition, but 'sealf' is used five times and 'sealues' once. The archaic form 'noyce' for 'noise,' dated fifteenth century by the N.E.D., is to be found in l. 72 of the Addition. It would be quite abnormal in print, and does not occur in the quartos. But the misprint 'voyce' for 'noise,' which *Oth.* 5. 2. 85 offers us, shows that Shakespeare's old-fashioned spelling was puzzling the compositors in 1622. Further, in *A Lover's Complaint* we find the spelling 'straing' for 'strange.' The N.E.D. gives it (together with 'straynge') as a sixteenth century form, but quotes no examples; it was therefore probably un-

common, and I know of no other instances beyond those here given. Yet we can be almost certain that it was a Shakespearian usage, since the misprint[1] 'straying' for 'strange' in *L.L.L.* 5. 2. 773 can be neatly explained by the presence of 'straing' or 'strayng' (with the *n* perhaps written in three minims) in the copy. The Addition gives us 'straing' once, 'straingers' six times, and 'strange' or 'straunge,' its normal variant, never. Lastly, to cut our list short, we may take the form 'Iarman' which the Addition uses for 'German'—certainly an unusual one in that period. Once more a misprint comes to our help, this time from the Folio, *M.W.W.* giving us 'Iamanie' for 'Germanie' at 4. 5. 89. We may observe, in passing, that 'Jamany,' which is a word from the mouth of the redoubtable Dr Caius, still persists in all modern editions—another instance of the conservative force of the comic spirit.

The spellings quoted from the Addition in the last paragraph are, for the most part, unusual forms for writers of the period. They are old-fashioned; and it is unlikely, to say the least of it, that any two authors would be equally old-fashioned in the spelling of *all* these words. It is, therefore, very encouraging to find parallels in the quartos for every one of them. Our accumulation of coincidences is by this time growing into an impressive pile. Can we crown it by citing a spelling from both the Addition and the quartos which is not only old-fashioned but very old-fashioned,

[1] Not perhaps an 'obvious misprint' in the sense used on p. 114, since the Q 'straying,' rejected by Capell and later editors, has recently found a defender in Mr H. C. Hart, editor of the 'Arden' *Love's Labour's Lost*. I am convinced, however, that Mr Hart is mistaken.

not only unusual but rare? We have such a spelling, I think, in 'scilens,' which occurs in l. 50 of the Addition. It is undoubtedly a rare form, and though the N.E.D. gives 'scylens,' which comes near it, among its list of variant spellings, it actually quotes no closer or later parallel than 'scylence' (1513)[1]. Now 'silence' is, of course, frequent enough in the quartos, and as a common noun is always spelt in the modern fashion. In one quarto, however, 2 *Hen. IV*, it is the name of a character, to wit Master Justice Silence; and as such it is spelt 'Scilens' no less than eighteen times! A compositor may do what he will with the spelling of common nouns, but character-names must be treated with respect. The business is eloquent on the question of the relationship between manuscript and print in the Elizabethan era. But it tells us something more. The unexpected appearance of Master 'Scilens' proves that 'scilens' was a Shakespearian spelling—as it was also the spelling of the writer of the Addition.

The foregoing specimens are deliberately selected for their difficulty. With the other spellings of the quartos and the Addition we have plainer sailing. Nevertheless, lest anyone should suspect that, in selecting our instances, we have suppressed evidence unfavourable to the case for identification, an appendix will be found at the end of this paper which gives a list of all noteworthy spellings in the Addition, including many that are by no means abnormal in late sixteenth century print. These spellings are classified, and their parallels quoted from the quartos.

[1] The similar forms 'scite' (site) and 'scituate' (situate) are more often met with, and the latter, for example, occurs in Nashe's printed works.

Often the parallel is direct; at other times we have to content ourselves with parallels from words of the same class. For example, as we have seen, 'infeccion' is not found in the quartos; yet 'affliccio' provides us with an equally serviceable analogy. Or again, we need not be disturbed that the quartos furnish no instance of 'geat' (= get), seeing that, being one of the commonest words in the language, it could hardly escape normalisation by the compositors; yet the frequency of *ea* for *ĕ* in other quarto-words lends strong support to the form of the Addition. Shakespeare's spelling was far from consistent; nevertheless, he was addicted to certain spelling tendencies, which can be reduced to some sort of system; and it is nearly always possible to estimate the possibilities of his orthography for any given word by reference to other words of like formation. Not a single noteworthy spelling in the Addition but has its parallel, one way or another, in the quartos. On the other hand, it is equally important to notice that the normal spellings of the Addition are nowhere seriously challenged by abnormal spellings of the same words in the quartos. For example, the writer of the Addition never uses initial *k* for *c*, or *ssh* for *sh*, or *-id*, *-ith*, *-ist* for *-ed*, *-eth*, *-est*, as Harvey and other authors of the period constantly do. It would, therefore, be disturbing if the quartos gave evidence that such spelling tricks were part of Shakespeare's stock-in-trade as a penman. Happily they do not.

To sum up. We have seen that Shakespeare like the writer of the Addition used the English hand; that he resembled him in his fondness for capital C; that he seems to have written about the same number of lines to the foolscap page; that his pen was prone to all the common slips which we find in the Ad-

dition, and to one which was not common; that the spellings in these three pages which are modern or normal to Elizabethan compositors have modern or normal forms in the quartos; that those which are common in manuscript but abnormal in print can all be supported by parallels or misprints in the Shakespearian texts; and finally, that spellings, old-fashioned or rare in manuscript, are equally Shakespearian. Wherever we turn, we discover agreement. We have subjected the thesis that Shakespeare wrote the Addition with his own hand to all the bibliographical tests which seem possible in the circumstances, and every time it responds to the experiment. Bibliography can find nothing un-Shakespearian in the Addition. On the contrary, it reveals a number of coincidences which grow more and more impressive as they crowd one upon another, until in the sum they go very near to proving the identification without reference to other lines of evidence.

APPENDIX

THE SPELLINGS OF THE THREE PAGES, WITH PARALLELS FROM THE QUARTOS

By J. Dover Wilson

NOTE. Under each heading or sub-heading in this classified list the significant spellings of the Addition are given first in italics, followed, in square brackets, by such insignificant spellings of words belonging to the same class as are found therein; next come direct parallels or relevant misprints, where such are to be found, in the quartos, with references; and lastly, a list of indirect parallels from the quartos. Numerals without round brackets denote the number of the line in the transcript of the Addition; numerals within round brackets give the number of times a word occurs. The grouping follows, of course, standard modern English spelling. The line-numeration for quarto references is that of the Griggs-Praetorius facsimiles; for folio references that of the *Globe Shakespeare*.

i. *Doubled final consonant* (generally after a short vowel).

Very frequent in the Qq. with mute *e*, and in that form was a common variant of the modern spelling in books of this period. The double consonant without *e* was apparently also common in manuscript, though rare in print after 1590.

d. Chidd 73 [bid 100, breed 10, did 94, dread 99, god (8), good (5), had (4), ꝑceed 114, red 1, stood 21].—no direct parallel.—madd, redd, sadd.

f. Beeff 3, *loff* 7, *ruff* 79 [if 91, yf (6), of (13)].—ruffe *Lea.* 3. 4. 2.—cliff (= clef).

g. doggꝫ 135.—dogge *Ham.* 2. 2. 182, etc.—begg, cogg, gigg, nutmegg, wagg, baggs, leggs, raggs.

n. sinn 93 [an 83, 133, bin 66, can (3), in (7), man 83, men (3), on (5), ꝑdon 143, then 6, 104, when 63, 118].—sinnd *Ado* 5. 1. 283.—fann, winn.

p. thipp 18, *slipp* 122, *vppon* (3) [keep 28, keepes 42].—vppon (very freq.).—copps, dropps, stopps, proppe, lippes, etc.

r. warrs 112, *warre* 113.—warre *L.L.L.* 1. 1. 9, *Ham.* 1. 1. 111.—barrs, starrs, farr, marr, barre, farre, preferre, scarre, spurre, starre, sturre.

s. prentisses 22, 23 (2).—cursse, decesse (= decease), pursse.

t. cutt 120, *gott* 68, 80, *letts* (3), *sett* 90, *sytt* 77, *whett* 134 [at (5), but (10), Credyt 51, geat 69, great 5, 124, yt (5), Let 90, letꝫ, 43, 89, not (14), out 132, put 119, ryot 113, rout 116, Submyt 144].—gotte *Lea.* 5. 3. 173.—dirtt, fitt, hott, rott, shutt, sott, witts, abette, flatte, putte, etc.

ii. *Absence of final e mute.*

after *c. insolenc* 81, *obedienc* (3), *obedyenc* 39, *offyc* 98, *ffraunc* 127 [audience 47, Iustyce 99, peace (15), pence 2, ꝑvince 128, violence 132, voyce 51].—Misprints 'ingredience' for 'ingredient' (*Oth.* 2. 3. 311), 'intelligence' for 'intelligent' (*Lea.* 3. 7. 12), 'pallat' for 'palace' (*R.J.* 5. 3. 107), 'instance' for 'instant' (*L.L.L.* 5. 2. 817) can best be explained by Shakespeare's habit of omitting *e* after *c.*

after *g. Charg* 28, *straing* 8 [charge 55, lugage 75].—Charg *L.L.L.* 5. 1. 86; straing *Lover's Comp.* 303; 'Strange' misprinted 'straying' *L.L.L.* 5. 2. 773.—challeng, mannadg, reneag, reueng, targ.

after *m. com* 124, *Coms* 14 [Come 4, name 26, 103, 115, same 85, 108, armes 95, tymes 66].—com *Ad.* 2. 3. 32, *Ham.* 5. 2. 111, *L.L.L.* 1. 1. 59; coms *Ham.* 5. 1. 153, *V.A.* 444, *L.L.L.* 5. 2. 548.—becom, nam, som, welcom, hansom, theams, Achadems, somthing, sombody, somtime.

after *n. ymagin* 74, *doon* 141, *on* (= one) 62, 83, 87 [throne 103, nyne 2, mutynes 115, stone 3].—on (= one) 8 times in Qq., don *Lea.* 5. 3. 35.—engin, medicin, begon, gon, non.

after *r. ar* (8), *forwarne* 94, *ther* 118, *thers* 147, *wer* (3), *wherin* 65 [are 107, desyres 77, figure 102, nature 126, sore 10, there 63, twere 95, where 129].—tha'r *Ham.* 4. 7. 11, y'ar *Lea.* 4. 6. 9; 4. 7. 49, or (misp. for 'ar') *Ham.* 1. 3. 74, thers (11), wer *R.J.* 2. 2. 11, 2. 5. 16, wer't *Lea.* 4. 2. 63, *Oth.* 2. 3. 349, wherin *Lea.* 3. 1. 12, *Luc.* 1526.—Nauar, plesur, tresur, ventur, vultur, sowr, therfore, far (= fare), etc.

after *s. howskeeper* 58 [case 139, choose 70, ryse 106, theise 12, 67, 144].—houskeeping *L.L.L.* 2. 1. 104, houshold *Ric. II*, 2. 2. 60, 2. 3. 28, *R.J.* (pro.) *Luc.* 198, etc.—codpis, copps, deus (= deuce), els, opposles.

after *t. appropriat* 137, *desperat* 107 [maiestrate 146, state 67].—'appropriate' not in canon, 'desperat' or 'desprat' (10).—adulterat, agat, aggrauat, confiderat, currat (= curate), importunat, mandat, pallat, prenominat, priuat, remediat, peregrinat, smot.

iii. *Doubled medial consonant.*

Very frequent in Qq.

hiddious 132, *appostle* 94.—hiddious *Ham.* 2. 2. 498, 'apostle' (only twice in Shakespeare).

iv. *Single medial consonant.*

Frequent in Qq.

adicion 118 cf. adicted *Ham.* 2. 1. 19.

afoord 133 cf. diferences, proferd, etc.

lugage 75 cf. bragart, nigard, wagling, wagoner.

Comand 47, *Comaund* 52, 99 cf. comerse, imediate, iminent, etc.

hearing (= herring) 1, *Sury* 48 cf. cary, hering, squiril, etc.

v. *Final -s for -ss.*

Writers and printers of the period had the choice between *-s* and *-sse*, and it seems certain that Shakespeare generally preferred the former. [*-s* had come in early in the 16th century and was going out at the end of it.]

mas 58, *trespas* 124, *stilnes* 52 [passe 4, possesse 120]. —mas 2 *Hen. IV*, 2. 4. 4, 21, 5. 3. 14, trespas *Son.* 35. 6, *R.J.* 1. 5. 111, *Lea.* 2. 4. 44, stilnes *M.V.* 1. 1. 90, 5. 1. 56. —chearles, choples, giltles, les, noyseles, opposles, vnles; carkas, compas, distres, Dutches, glas, kis, larges, pas, protectres; darknes, gentlenes, grosnes, happines, lowlines, neerenes, sadnes; cf. misp. 'Loue lines' for 'lovelines' *Oth.* 2. 1. 232; 'chapels' for 'chaples' *R.J.* 4. 1. 83.

vi. *ck for k after n.*

banck 39, *thanck* 59, *thinck* 138 [cf. mark (3), shark 86].—bancke *Ham.* 3. 2 (Dumb-show), bancks *Luc.* 1442, banckes *Son.* 56. 11; thincke *Ad.* 1. 1. 103 —banckrout, blancke, blancks, blancket, dancke, franck, franckly, inck, inckie, ynckle, lincke, linckt, mountibanck, pinck, pranck, ranck, ranckle, sincke, sincketh, stincketh, stincking, winck, wrinckle (cf. barck, barckt, inbarckt).

vii. *c and t interchangeable, before ion, -ient, -ial,* etc. [*c* was the early form, which *t* was superseding even in words in which it did not ultimately prevail.]

adicion 118, *infeccion* 14, *transportacion* 76 [ynnovation 93, mediation 145, nation 131, ꝑclamation 117, supposytion 91].—addicions *Lea.* 1. 1. 138, *Lov. Comp.* 118; for 'infeccion' cf. 'affliccio' *L.L.L.* 1. 1. 316, 'transportation' not in the canon.—condicions, deuocion, impa-

cience, impacient, oblacion, parciall, pacience, pacient, peticioner, sacietie, Venecian.—antient, arithmetition, assotiate, audatious, auspitious, gratious, gratiously, musitian, pernitious, physitian, polititian, suspition, vngratious, vitious.

viii. *ct for t.*

aucthoryty 78, 94.—aucthoritie *L.L.L.* 1. 1. 87 (cf. 'sainct' *R.J.* 1. 1. 220, *Luc.* 85).

ix. *c, s and z interchangeable.*

Frequent in Qq.

prentizes 9, *prentisses* 22, 23 (2), *noyce* 72.—apprentishood *R. II*, 1. 3. 271; 'voyce' misp. for 'noise' *Oth.* 5. 2. 85.—compremyzd, dazie, cowardize, eaz'd, incyzion, rowze, etc.; bace, cace, elce, fleach, mouce, Nector (=Nestor), nurcery, ceaze (=seize), cized (=sized), etc.; side (='cide), codpis, cressant, deus (=deuce), faste (=faced), ise, cease (=seize), etc.

x. *sc for s.*

scilens 50.—Scilens (18 times in 2 *Hen. IV*, 3. 2. and 5. 3. for Justice Silence).

xi. *a and ai interchangeable.*

(*a*) *plaigue* 53, *straing* 8, *straingers* (6).—straing *Lov. Comp.* 303, and cf. 'straying' misp. for 'strange' *L.L.L.* 5. 2. 773.—bained, humaine, inhumaine, mayne, plaister, Romaine, taile, traiders, vaine, wainyng.

(*b*) *spane* 128 [against 109, 134, gainst (3), captaine 114].—atwane, bale, catiffe, captane, clame, dasie, gate, male, plantan, proclames, retale, vnreclamed, wast.

xii. *a for e.*

a leven 2, *elamente* 136.—a leuen *M.V.* 2. 2. 171, *R.J.* 1. 3. 34, *L.L.L.* 3. 1. 172, *T.C.* 3. 3. 296; a leauen *Ham.* 1. 2. 252, elament *Ham.* 4. 7. 181, elamentes *L.L.L.* 4. 3. 329; cf. ralish, randeuous.

xiii. *ar and er interchangeable* (medial and initial).

argo (? comic) 5, *basterd* ϱ 12, *Iarman* 128.—argo 2 *Hen. VI*, 4. 2. 31 (F.); basterd *Son.* 124. 2; 'Iamanie' misp. for 'Germanie' *M.W.W.* 4. 5. 89 (F.).—costerd, haggerds, hermonious, hazerd, lethergie, noteries, person (=parson), pertake, perticuler, seperation, seperable, steru'd.—clarke, desart (=desert), arrand, marchant, parson (=person), swarue.

xiv. *-ar, -er, -ur, -ure, -our interchangeable.*

Arther 43 (Arthur 59), *offendor* 123, *harber* 127, *mayer* 28, *maier* 24.—offendor 2 *Hen. IV*, 4. 1. 216, 5. 2. 81, *Son.* 42. 5, *Luc.* 612 (offendour *Ad.* 5. 1. 315), harber *Luc.* 768 (harbor *T.C.* 1. 3. 44, *Oth.* 2. 1. 121).—ardure, armour, cindar, conquerour, dominatur, expectors, familier, feauorous, fingard, frier, gossamours, honerd, humerous, inheritour, leachour, lier, liquer, manner (=manor), morter, murmour, oculer, odor, pander, particuler, peculier, pedler, piller, profard, progenitours, refracturie, sauor, scholler, serviture, singuler, souldier, souldiour, souldior, splendor, taber, tenor (=tenour), tenure (=tenour), terrer, terrour, timerous, tuterd, valor, valure, verdour, vigor.

xv. *au for aw* (cf. *ow* for *ou*).

braule 78.—braule *L.L.L.* 3. 1. 7, *Oth.* 2. 3. 328.—crauling, hauke, hauthorne, impaund, paund.

xvi. *-ay for -ey.*

obay 100, 116, 146 [they (7)].—obay *Ham.* 1. 2. 120, 5. 2. 227, *Lea.* 3. 4. 81, 153, 4. 2. 64, *T.C.* 4. 5. 72, 5. 1. 49, 5. 5. 27, *L.L.L.* 4. 3. 217.—cocknay, conuay, pray (=prey), suruay.

xvii. *ai for ei.*

waight 7 [their (9)].—waight *Son.* 50. 6, *Luc.* 1494, *T.C.* 1. 3. 203, 3. 2. 173, 4. 1. 71, 5. 2. 168, *Lea.* 5. 3. 323, waigh *M.N.D.* 3. 2. 130, *Son.* 108. 10, 120. 8, *L.L.L.*

5. 2. 26, 27, *Ham.* 1. 2. 13. N.B. wey (1), weyde (2), way (3), wayed (1), waide (1) also found.—counterfait, daine, fain, forrain, forfait, hainous, haire (=heir), naigh, soueraine.

xviii. *e, ei and ie interchangeable.*

frende 27, *ther* (=their) 137, *freind* 143, *freinde* 90, *theise* 12, 67, 144 [their (9)].—frend *L.L.L.* 5. 2. 844, frending *Ham.* 1. 5. 186, there = their (12), theise *Hen. V*, 3. 2. 122 (F.).—beleue, besedged, counterfet, forfet, inuegled, perst (=pierced), percing, surfet.—feinde, feirce, feilde, greife, leidge, leiutenant, peirce, seiges, theife, weild, casheird, releife.

xix. *ea for ei or ie.*

þceaue 92.—perceaue *M.V.* 5. 1. 77, perceau'd *Lea.* 2. 4. 39.—conceaue, deceaue, enpearced, fearce, pearce, receaue, ceaze (=seize).

xx. *ea for e.*

geat 69, *heare* (= here) 62, *hearing* (=herring) 1, *sealf* 85 (3), 105, 146, *sealues* 46, *togeather* 16 [lent 98, 102, question 21, red 1, sett 90, wer 63, 95, 137].—heare (= here) *Lea.* 2. 4. 137, *M.N.D.* 3. 2. 453, *R.J.* (pro.) 14, *L.L.L.* 5. 2. 302, *Ham.* 5. 2. 243, *Luc.* 1290, 1660, *Lov. Comp.* 54, 197; for 'sealf' cf. 'seale slaughter' misp. for 'selfe-slaughter' *Ham.* 1. 2. 132; togeather *L.L.L.* 1. 1. 211, 4. 3. 192.—alleadge, ceader, cleargie, compleat, creast, deaw, dispearse, Eaues (=Eve's), eauen, extreame, feauor, fleash, ieasture, heard (= herd), ieast, leachers, leaprous, least, leauers, leaueld, meare, meate (=mete), neast, neather, orepearch, peart, preceading, preast (=pressed), reneag, repleat, sceane, seauen, seueare, shead, sheald (=shelled), shepheard, stearne, tearme, teasty, theame, vearses, weast.

xxi. *e for ea.*

bere 40, *beres* 93 [dread 99, earle (3), earth 104, 133,

eate 5, eating 5, entreate 145, great 5, 124, hear 30, heare (8), leade (3), meale 2, peace (15), reasons 85, speake 41, 57, speakes 41, teares 108].—appere, berded, bestly, beuer, bereuing, brest, breth, cheting, clenly, dere, decesse, dred, ech, erle, endeuour, fethers, gere, hed, helth, here (=hear), hersed, ielous, lether, meddowes, ment, nere, pesant, pescod, plesant, plesur, quesie, rept (=reaped), rere, reherse, serches, sheued (=sheaved), spred, sted, swere, swet, tere, thred, tresur, welth, wery, were (=wear), wether, wezell, zelous.

xxii. *-ey and -y interchangeable.*

Countrey 6 [Country 5, 126, Countrie 5], *palsey* 11, *Sury* 48 [Surrey 24, 48].—Countrey 1 *Hen. IV*, 4. 3. 82, *L.L.L.* 1. 2. 123, countrey *L.L.L.* 3. 1. 132, *Luc.* 1838, *Oth.* (7), Surry *R. II*, 4. 1. 74.—hony, iourny, mony, monky, parly, volly.

xxiii. *o for oa.*

coste 76, *grote* 2, *loff* 7, *throts* 120, *throtes* 134.—grote *R. II*, 5. 5. 68; 'loaf' not in Qq.; throte *R. II*, 1. 1. 44.—abord, abrod, approch, bemone, bord, bore, bost, bote, brode, broch, cloths, cole, cote, croke, gotish, grone, Ione, lone, loth, mone, oke, ores, ote, oth, peticote, reproch, rode, rore, rosted, soke, sore (=soar), tode, toste.

xxiv. *oo for o.*

afoord 133, *doon* 141, *moor*[1] (14), *moore*[1] (3), *tooth* (=to the) 76 [abode 133, among 46, another 87, Brother 43, 59, clothd 79, Come 4, com 124, Coms 14, do (7), doing 107, dogge 135, go 125, 127, god (8), gospell 88, gott 68, 80, more 5, other (4), porte 76, remoued 72, removing 70, sore 10, stone 3, sword 103, throne 103, to (23)].—affoord (8), doone (6), too'th *Lea.* 2. 4. 184.—approoue, behooue, coosning, doo, foorde, foorth, mood (=mode), mooue, prooue, remooue, reprooue, smoothred, stoore,

[1] For 'More.'

soopstake, toomb, vnboosome, vnwoorthy, woolfe, woon, woonder, woont, woorth.

xxv. *oo for ou.*

coold 64, 67, *moorne* 123, *shoold* (5), *woold* (8) [although 69, brought 67, Countrie 5, Country 5, 126, Countrey 6, doubt 147, enough 10, foule 108, founde 147, hound 122, our (3), out 132, pounde 2, rough 55, sound 89, sounde 117, though 14, wrought 84].—for 'woold' cf. 'twood' *T.C.* 2. 3. 229, 3. 3. 255.—cooch, cooplement, coosin, dooble, poor (=pour), stoop (=stoup), yoong.

xxvi. *ow for ou.*

fower 3, *howskeeper* 58, *howses* 120, *sowles* 106 [for normal spellings see xxv].—fower *M.N.D.* 1. 1. 2, 7, *L.L.L.* 4. 3. 211.—fowle, hower, lowd, lowring, mowldy, mowse, powre, powted, prowd, rowse, rowt, showt, snowte, sower, th'owt (=thou'lt).

xxvii. *-ow for -o, -oo, -oe.*

how (= ho!) 28.—how *Ham.* 4. 3. 16, 5. 2. 315, 322, *M.V.* 5. 1. 109, howe *M.N.D.* 4. 1. 83, *Ham.* 3. 2. 57, hou *L.L.L.* 4. 3. 174.—cuckow, hollow (= hullo!), rowe (=roe).

xxviii. *ew for ue, ieu or u.*

trewe 16, 88, 141.—trew *L.L.L.* 1. 1. 315, 4. 1. 18, *Son.* 125. 13, *Lov. Comp.* 34, *Luc.* 455.—adew, adiew, agew, blew, dew (=due), dewtie, fewell, insewe, glewed, hew (=hue), inbrew, indewed, newtrall, newter, reskew, retinew, renenew, rhewme, rewmatique, trewant, valew, valiew.

xxix. *Miscellaneous.*

deule (=devil) 53, 56.—deule *R.J.* 2. 4. 1, 3. 1. 107, *Ham.* 3. 2. 136 (deale *Ham.* 2. 2. 628 (2) = mispr.).

bin 66.—frequent in Qq.
ymagin 74.—ymaginary *T.C.* 3. 2. 20.
to (=too) 124.—v. frequent in Qq.
Ingland 73, 129.—Cf. Inglish *M.W.W.* 2. 3. 64 (Q. 1).

xxx. *Abbreviations and colloquialisms.*

a (= he) 42 (2), 141.—frequent in Qq.
byth (= by the) 58.—byth *L.L.L.* 5. 2. 61, 474, *Lov. Comp.* 112, *Lea.* 2. 4. 9, 10, *R.J.* 1. 5. 112, bit'h, *Lea.* 2. 4. 9, 5. 3. 19, *Oth.* 1. 3. 407, 2. 3. 384, 5. 2. 355.
eu (= ever) 21.
L. (= Lord) 24, 38.—L. (=lord) *R.J.* 5. 1. 3, 1 *Hen. IV*, 1. 1. 49, *L.L.L.* 2. 1. 214, 4. 2. 75.—frequent in Qq. as a title before a name, e.g. 'my L. Bellario' (*M.V.* 4. 1. 120).
lets 89, *letȩ* 43, *lettȩ* 30, 42, *letts* 141.—'lets' frequent in Qq.
matie 93, 101, 122.
ore (= o'er) 39.—frequent in Qq.
tane (= taken) 66.—frequent in Qq.
thart (= thou'rt) 58.—th'art *Ham.* 5. 2. 353, thar't *Lea.* 1. 4. 23.
tis 10, 93.—frequent in Qq.
tooth (= to the) 76.—tooth *Lea.* 2. 4. 184, toth *Lea.* 5. 3. 245, *Ham.* 2. 2. 287, *Oth.* 1. 3. 133, 5. 2. 156.
twere 95.—frequent in Qq.
weele (= we will) (4).—frequent in Qq.
whatȩ 9.—frequent in Qq.
w^{ch} 70.
w^{t} (4), *wth* 22, 85.
yo^{u} (54).
youle (= you will) 119, 142.—youle *R.J.* 1. 5. 81, 82, 83, *L.L.L.* 2. 1. 114, 4. 3. 157, *Oth.* 1. 1. 112, 113.
yo^{r} (12).

V. THE EXPRESSION OF IDEAS—PARTICULARLY POLITICAL IDEAS—IN THE THREE PAGES, AND IN SHAKESPEARE

By R. W. Chambers

i. '*Degree*'

FREQUENT misuse has brought into disrepute the method of drawing parallels between Shakespeare's acknowledged works and some play or portion of a play which we wish to attribute to him.

But the case of *Sir Thomas More* is peculiar. Here is a history play, the manuscript of which proves that many hands wrought upon it. Now one scene of 147 lines is written in a different hand from any other in the manuscript—the hand called D in Greg's edition. This hand is obviously that of the author, for we see the writer occasionally pausing, cancelling a word or phrase, and then finishing the line according to his second thoughts. However, for an author composing as he writes, he seems to show great fluency. Shakespeare, we know, worked in this way. 'His mind and hand went together: and what he thought he uttered with that easiness that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.' These words can only mean that blots were so few that it was possible to use Shakespeare's original draft as the copy which his fellow actors received from him: for the words are written as a proof, not of Shakespeare's care, but of his fluency.

Not all the portions of *Sir Thomas More* were written in this way. Thus, for example, the hand C transcribes, amongst other things, passages which are also extant in the hand S: and, in doing this, C makes the errors of a scribe, not of an author; in beginning a speech of Erasmus he loses his place, writes three words which should occur in the answer to that speech seven lines below, discovers the error, cancels the words, and goes on correctly. Now just as C is here copying from the script extant in the hand S, it is conceivable that he might elsewhere be copying from a lost draft in the hand D. But naturally we cannot prove this. In style, there is a marked contrast between the '147 lines' in the hand D and most of the remaining scenes of the play, good as these often are. Any possible share by D in the play, beyond these 147 lines, is a matter of pure conjecture. Leaving all such conjecture aside, we are concerned only with this one short scene, extant in the hand D.

But of this one scene so eminent a critic as Spedding has said, that if it be not the work of the young Shakespeare, there must have been somebody else then living who could write as well as he. Since Shakespeare's habit of mingling his own work with that of others in his early history plays was so marked as to have exposed him to attack, it can hardly be denied that here is a case for enquiry. The briefness of the passage, together with the fact that the play was never printed till 1844, is sufficient to explain what in some other cases is so serious a difficulty—why there should be no tradition connecting the work with Shakespeare.

So, when the handwriting and the spelling have been examined by experts, and a favourable verdict

pronounced, a comparison of the ideas and of their expression in this scene and in Shakespeare's known works ought not to be prejudiced by the fact that similar parallels have been attempted, in cases where there is not the justification which exists here.

The likeness between the '147 lines' and the Jack Cade scenes in 2 *Henry VI* has become a commonplace of criticism. But this is the less conclusive, because the Jack Cade scenes are found in the *Contention betwixt the two famous houses of York and Lancaster*, as printed in 1594, and much of the *Contention* is pretty clearly not Shakespeare's work. It might be argued that 'the writer who foisted certain of the Jack Cade scenes into the second part of *Henry VI*' was also the writer of the 147 lines added to *Sir Thomas More*, without its being held that such writer was necessarily Shakespeare. Can we draw parallels between the '147 lines' and Shakespeare's undisputed work?

Simpson, when first broaching the subject, drew two such parallels, noteworthy, but not convincing without much further support. Spedding and Ward, in supporting the attribution of this scene to Shakespeare, dealt only with the general likeness, without going into details. Recently Schücking[1] has argued that the play as a whole is an imitation of Shakespeare, written about 1604–5. He finds parallels between the treatment of the 'play within the play' in *Sir Thomas More* and in *Hamlet*. But the insertion of a play within the play was not the invention of Shakespeare; it was probably in the *Hamlet* plot which he took over. If More's attitude to the players sometimes

[1] *Engl. Stud.* XLVI. 228–51, 'Das Datum des pseudo-Shakespeareschen Sir Thomas Moore.'

reminds us of Hamlet's, there is nothing more than can well be accounted for by the common atmosphere in which both plays grew up. It is quite different with the parallels which Schücking draws between *Julius Caesar* and the '147 lines.' Here Schücking claims to have proved a real connection, and it is difficult to dispute that claim. Schücking would account for the connection by supposing the More scene to be written in deliberate imitation. But we cannot argue that, because Antony did actually, as a matter of history, succeed in swaying the mob by his speech, whilst the success of More is fictitious, therefore the More fiction is necessarily an imitation of that historic fact. If the writer of the More scene needed any pattern to follow, he could have found it in the speech in which old Clifford equally wins the rebels under Cade to his side. Nevertheless, there seems a fair certainty of some kind of connection between the '147 lines' and *Julius Caesar*, as well as between these lines and the Jack Cade scenes.

But what Schücking has failed to notice is that there are also parallels with *Troilus and Cressida* at least as striking as the parallels with *Julius Caesar*: and, further, many parallels with *Coriolanus*, in the bulk more striking than those with any other play of Shakespeare whatsoever. And many data, such as Tylney's censoring of the play, make it unreasonable to regard it as an imitation of *Coriolanus*. Nor can the parallels with *Coriolanus* be dismissed by supposing that the writer of the '147 lines' was following up hints in Shakespeare's early plays, and so anticipated expressions which Shakespeare himself came to use later. In *Troilus and Cressida* the final result of insubordination is likened to a wolf who must 'last

eat up himself.' In both *More* and *Coriolanus* the phrase is, that men 'would feed on one another.' That the *More*-writer, imitating Shakespeare's earlier phrase, should have happened exactly to anticipate his later one, would surely be most unlikely—it would be easier to dismiss all the three phrases as mere accidental coincidence. Yet, as we shall see later, *when we consider these phrases in their context*, such a way out is hardly possible either. And this instance is only one of many.

Before coming, however, to this consideration of phrase and figure, it is worth noting that there is an extraordinary likeness in the general outlook upon state affairs. 'I am of the same politics,' Tennyson once said, 'as Shakespeare, Bacon, and every sane man.' Views shared by every sane man will not carry us very far on our work of identification. But even people, like the late Sir Walter Raleigh, who have little sympathy with the attempt to 'classify Shakespeare's political convictions and reduce them to a type,' feel that Shakespeare is a

> passionate friend to order: he views social order as part of a wider harmony: his survey of human society and of the laws that bind man to man is astronomical in its rapidity and breadth: when his imagination seeks a tragic climax the ultimate disaster and horror commonly presents itself to him as chaos: *he extols government with a fervour that suggests a real and ever present fear of the breaking of the flood-gates*[1].

Now when, in 1907, Sir Walter Raleigh described Shakespeare's standpoint in these words, he was thinking more especially of the great speech of Ulysses on 'degree' in *Troilus and Cressida*. There was no

[1] *Shakespeare*, pp. 191–2.

thought of *Sir Thomas More*. But, if we try to describe the speech of More, can formulas more appropriate than these be framed? And these phrases do not describe a general temper: language suggesting a fear of the breaking of the flood-gates is not common to every sane man.

No doubt in Tudor England fear of anarchy was peculiarly strong. And playwrights were defenders of order: for 'Plays,' says Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*,

> are writ with this aim, and carried with this method, to teach...subjects true obedience to their king, to show people the untimely ends of such as have moved tumults, commotions and insurrections, to present them with the flourishing estate of such as live in obedience, exhorting them to obedience, dehorting them from all traitorous and felonious stratagems.

But the passion, the fear, the insistence upon social order as part of an even greater whole, how often do we find these expressed as they are in Shakespeare, and in this speech of More? Heywood gives us scenes of popular violence in his *Edward IV*; so does Dekker in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*; so does the anonymous author of *Jack Straw*; so do other collaborators in the play of *Sir Thomas More*. But the method of Heywood, Dekker and the other writers is as unlike that of the writer of the '147 lines' and of Shakespeare as these two last are like each other. To More, rebellion means not so much the end of the rebel, as the end of all things:

> Had there such fellows lived when you were babes...
> ...the bloody times
> Could not have brought you to the state of men.

More does not stoop to terrorize the rebels, as Hey-

wood might have done with 'the untimely ends of such as have moved tumults': there is no talk of gibbets and the hangman, but rather of the necessity of authority:

> To kneel to be forgiven
> Is safer wars than ever you can make
> Whose discipline is riot: why even your wars
> Cannot proceed but by obedience.

Ulysses, in his great paean in praise of authority, can begin from no lower thesis than that

> The heavens themselves, the planets and this centre,
> Observe degree, priority and place.

What would otherwise be the intolerable insolence of Coriolanus receives dignity from this passion for a divinely ordained authority, be it that of the senate ('the noble senate who, *under the gods*, keep you in awe') or of his mother. It is this which makes his fall the greater when Coriolanus, of all men, stands

> As if a man were author of himself
> And knew no other kin.

It is this which turns his fall into a triumph when, at the price of his life, he raises his mother from her knees to grant her request:

> Your knees to me? to your corrected son?
> Then let the pebbles on the hungry beach
> Fillip the stars.

Let anyone read, two or three times, the speech of More, and the speech of Ulysses on 'degree,' and then turn to the great Tudor classic on rebellion, by Sir John Cheke, *The Hurt of Sedition, how grievous it is to a Commonwealth* (1549). Cheke was a statesman, and among the chief prose writers of his time. In this book of 120 pages he treats the subject at length, with

eloquence, vigour and common sense. He never reaches the standpoint to which Shakespeare and the author of the '147 lines' leap instantly. According to Cheke, rebellion leads to a state of things unpleasant, difficult, dangerous, even very dangerous. According to More or to Ulysses it leads to men devouring each other like ravenous beasts or fishes: it leads to sheer destruction. At the back of the mind of both More and Ulysses seems to be a nightmare vision of a world in chaos. This is not common: Cheke comes, I think, nearer to the practical point of view of the ordinary Englishman:

> And now, when there is neither plenty of hay, nor sufficient of straw, nor corn enough, and that through the great disorder of your lewd rebellion, can ye think ye do well?

Owing to the rebellion of Ket and his followers

> Diverse honest and true-dealing men are not able to pay their accustomable rent at their due time.

Cheke enumerates the evils of sedition:

> When sedition once breaketh out, see ye not the laws overthrown, the magistrates despised, spoiling of houses, murthering of men, wasting of countries, increase of disorder, diminishing of the realm's strength, swarming of vagabonds, scarcity of labourers, and all those mischiefs plenteously brought in, which God is wont to scourge severely withal, war, dearth and pestilence?

To Shakespeare, and to the writer of the '147 lines,' the disregard of order does not merely lead up to such commonplace scourges as war, dearth and pestilence. Both More and Ulysses depict disobedience as a more terrible thing: a thing inconsistent with the order which even war demands: a thing leading straight to anarchy. Cheke points out to the rebels that they

cannot expect to enjoy all the advantages and none of the disadvantages of rebellion: 'the inconvenience hereof cannot only nip others, but also touch you.' More makes the same point, but how differently. Suppose the rioters, by their tumult, succeed in forcing the government to carry out their wishes. What will be the result?

> *Not one of you should live an aged man.*

Ulysses leaps to the same conclusion:

> Take but degree away, untune that string...
> *And the rude son should strike his father dead.*

How are we to account for this difference between Cheke and the author of *More* or *Troilus*? So far as contemporary conditions go, the realm was nearer chaos in the days of Cheke than when these plays were written. The root of the difference lies in the mind of the individual. And where else in Elizabethan drama shall we find just that same kind of passion and underlying fear which we find in Shakespeare and in the great speech of More?

But the likeness only begins here: if we had no more than this it would prove nothing. Even more striking than the similarity of outlook is the similarity —often even the identity—of image and phrase and word with which it is enforced.

But before passing on, in the next section, to examine this, we must stop to ask—Is there anything *unlike* in the outlook of Shakespeare and of this speech of More? For it has been argued that More places the claims of kingly authority higher than even Shakespeare would have done.

Shakespeare, it is said,

> was far from being a believer in the divinity of kings. He

treats the theory with mordant irony in *Richard II*, placing it on the lips of the hapless king, and proving its insufficiency by the remorseless logic of subsequent events[1].

But what do we mean by the 'divinity of kings'? In the sense in which Richard II appeals to this divinity, neither Shakespeare nor any other thinker has ever believed in it. Richard places his reliance upon miracles:

> This earth shall have a feeling, and these stones
> Prove armed soldiers, ere her native king
> Shall falter under foul rebellion's arms.

We have not to wait for the 'remorseless logic of subsequent events' to prove the insufficiency of this: it is reproved instantly by the Bishop of Carlisle:

> Fear not, my lord: that Power that made you king
> Hath power to keep you king in spite of all.
> The means that heaven yields must be embraced
> And not neglected; else, if heaven would,
> And we will not, heaven's offer we refuse,
> The proffer'd means of succour and redress.
> *Aumerle.* He means, my lord, that we are too remiss;
> Whilst Bolingbroke, through our security,
> Grows strong and great, in substance and in power.

Richard indignantly rejects the advice of the Bishop. But the Bishop's words are consistent with the strictest legitimist belief. Indeed, when Bolingbroke proceeds to 'ascend the regal throne' it is this very Bishop of Carlisle who interposes:

> I speak to subjects, and a subject speaks,
> Stirr'd up by God, thus boldly for his king.
> My lord of Hereford here, whom you call king,

[1] Moorman on 'Plays attributed to Shakespeare' in the *Cambridge History*, v. 248–9.

> Is a foul traitor to proud Hereford's king;
> And, if you crown him, let me prophesy....

And then comes an appeal to 'the remorseless logic of subsequent events'—the Wars of the Roses.

The speech of More has in it the ring of peculiarly deep conviction and present fear: the speech of the Bishop of Carlisle has this equally: but it has something more. Shakespeare goes beyond the dramatic needs of the immediate situation, and uses *his own knowledge* of later history, thereby securing to the legitimist argument that prestige which accrues from prophecy fulfilled:

> O, if you raise this house against this house,
> It will the woefullest division prove
> That ever fell upon this cursed earth:
> Prevent it, resist it, let it not be so,
> Lest child, child's children, cry against you 'woe'!

Bolingbroke gets the throne: but in argument, at any rate, the dramatist 'takes care that the Whig dogs should not have the best of it.' It is surely impossible to maintain that the man who wrote this would not have gone as far as the writer of More's great speech goes. What More tells the crowd of rioters—that God has lent the king his throne and sword, and called him a 'god on earth,' is a mere Tudor commonplace. Listen to Cheke:

> That that is done by the magistrate is done by the ordinance of God, whom the scripture oftentimes doth call God, because he hath the execution of God's office. How then do ye take in hand to reform? Be ye kings?

By 'the magistrate' Cheke means the king or his deputy. Writing under a protectorate he chooses the vaguer term. But it is immaterial, for he says:

There can be no just execution of laws, reformation of faults, giving out of commandments, but from the king. For in the king only is the right hereof, and authority of him derived by his appointment to his ministers.

That the king, and the magistrates appointed by him, are executing God's office

> Of dread, of justice, power and command

would surely have been admitted universally in Tudor times. The view has, as More claims, sound apostolic authority[1]. It is going much further[2] when Shakespeare makes the Bishop of Carlisle protest, whatever the king's misdeeds, against the claim of parliament to depose him. As to the 'remorseless logic of subsequent events' refuting this protest, we must remember that *Richard II* is one of eight plays dealing with the fortunes of the houses of Lancaster and York. We see the strong efficient Bolingbroke worn into premature age and death as the result of his act:

> God knows, my son,
> By what by-paths, and indirect crook'd ways
> I met this crown; and I myself know well
> How troublesome it sat upon my head...
> ...Therefore, my Harry,
> Be it thy course, to busy giddy minds
> With foreign quarrels....

The advice is carried out. On the eve of his great victory we see the son's penitence:

[1] Romans xiii. 1–5; 1 Peter ii. 13, 14. For the 'king' as 'god' cf. Psalms xlv. 11 (in the Prayer-Book version, and in Parker's revision of the Bishops' Bible), 'So shall the king have pleasure in thy beauty, for he is thy Lord God' following the Vulgate 'quoniam ipse [rex] est Dominus Deus tuus.'

[2] Compare the view of King James I, as reported by Gardiner, *History of England* (1883), I. 291.

> O, not today, think not upon the fault
> My father made in compassing the crown.

But bloodshed in France avails nothing in the long run to avert bloodshed in England. The saintly grandson is equally conscious of the weakness of his title, and loses all. In *Henry VI*, with its figures of the 'son that hath killed his father' and 'the father that hath killed his son,' Shakespeare had already helped to stage what he now foretells:

> In this seat of Peace, tumultuous wars
> Shall kin with kin, and kind with kind confound;
> Disorder, Horror, Fear and Mutiny
> Shall here inhabit, and this land be call'd
> The field of Golgotha, and Dead Men's Skulls.

Of this field of Golgotha Richard of Gloucester becomes king. And, after all his murders, Richard knows that they are in vain unless he can gain the hand of his niece Elizabeth, the true heiress:

> Without her, follows to this land and me...
> Death, desolation, ruin and decay.

Only when the Lancastrian claimant is betrothed to Elizabeth, is the evil which the Bishop of Carlisle had foretold brought to its end. Richmond's words before his victory echo those of the Bishop:

> If you do free your children from the sword,
> Your children's children quit it in your age.

The Bishop assuredly does not rate the divine right of the king lower than Sir Thomas More. We may say, if we like, that, despite everything, the speech of the Bishop has merely dramatic value, and does not represent Shakespeare's own view. We may believe that both speeches were written merely to placate authority. But to assume that the speech of More

represents the real view of its author: that the speech of the Bishop of Carlisle represents the reverse of the real view of *its* author: and that therefore they cannot be the work of one and the same man, is surely absurd.

It is curious that this passage about God having 'given the king his name' and commanded obedience to him, should have caused such searching of heart. It is the one really commonplace thing in More's speech; it is based upon well-known passages of scripture; it is emphasized, as we have seen, in Cheke's pamphlet, in Elizabethan times the *locus classicus* on the subject of sedition; yet Schücking sees in it evidence that the speech of More belongs to Stuart rather than to Elizabethan times[1]. On the contrary, Gardiner has emphasized the fact that the divine right of kings was a theory more popular in the earlier than in the later of the two periods:

> The divine right of kings had been a popular theory when it coincided with a suppressed assertion of the divine right of the nation. Henry VIII and Elizabeth had prospered, not because their thrones were established by the decree of Heaven, but because they stood up for the national independence against foreign authority[2].

No doubt a reader of to-day feels that More's speech dwells rather on the claims of authority than

[1] In connection with this theory of an early Stuart date, we may note that both Moorman and Schücking speak as if the life by Cresacre More were a source of the play. This would mean not merely a Stuart date, but a date too late to be consistent with Tylney's censorship and many other indisputable data. But of the three episodes where Dyce had suggested a connection, two are taken by Cresacre More from earlier lives, and the third is told so differently as to preclude the idea of direct connection.

[2] Gardiner, *History of England* (1884), IX. 145.

on its responsibilities. But we have seen how Shakespeare also extols government. It is not so easy to refute the irreverent American democrat when, amid much that is exaggerated and absurd, he writes 'There can easily be too much liberty according to Shakespeare, but the idea of too much authority is foreign to him.'

ii. *Repetition*

But not only does Sir Thomas More share with the Bishop of Carlisle, Ulysses, and Coriolanus their passionate feeling for 'degree,' and their passionate fear of chaos; what is more significant is that in expressing these things they all speak the same tongue. Here again it is useful to start from a fact pointed out by Sir Walter Raleigh, which will be accepted as beyond controversy. Little as Shakespeare repeated himself, there are 'echoes that pass from one play to another': 'I have seen the time,' says Justice Shallow, 'with my long sword I would have made you four tall fellows skip like rats[1]': Lear says:

> I have seen the day, with my good biting falchion
> I would have made them skip[2].

Certain ideas were linked in Shakespeare's mind, and this coupling recurs with a curious similarity, in spite of differing circumstances: at one time, it may be, in an elaborate simile, at another in a single line or even word. Thus the idea that adversity tests character as a tempest tests ships, is expressed by Coriolanus in twenty words[3], by Nestor (naturally) in nearly as many lines[4]. So, too, Macbeth echoes Richard III.

[1] *Merry Wives*, Act II. Sc. i.
[2] *Lear*, Act V. Sc. iii.
[3] IV. i. 7–8.
[4] *Troilus*, I. iii. 33, etc.

Obviously, in any question of authorship, we must be careful not to be betrayed into the argument that two authors are the same man because they use the same metaphor. Nevertheless, compare the way in which confusion in the faculties of a lover is likened, equally by Bassanio and by Angelo, to a disorderly throng of subjects crowding round a beloved prince:

Bassanio. Madam, you have bereft me of all words,
Only my blood speaks to you in my veins;
And there is such confusion in my powers,
As, after some oration fairly spoke
By a beloved prince, there doth appear
Among the buzzing, pleased multitude;
Where every something, being blent together
Turns to a wild of nothing....

Angelo. Why does my blood thus muster to my heart,
Making both it unable for itself,
And dispossessing all my other parts
Of necessary fitness?...even so
The general, subject to a well-wish'd king,
Quit their own part, and in obsequious fondness
Crowd to his presence, where their untaught love
Must needs appear offence.

The one passage was written under Elizabeth, the other under James. The 'beloved prince' becomes a 'well-wished king' who does not relish popular applause: but there is little other difference.

Therefore, if the speech of Sir Thomas More be Shakespeare's, we may reasonably expect More's figures regarding government to reappear (changed to suit the speaker's circumstances) in those passages in Shakespeare's undoubted works where this question of authority and mob-law is discussed. Such passages are the speech of Ulysses in *Troilus*, and several scenes in *Coriolanus*.

(*a*) If authority be impaired, there can be no end, short of men devouring one another, like ravenous fishes or beasts of prey. So Coriolanus thinks:

> What's the matter, you dissentious rogues,
> That, rubbing the poor itch of your opinion
> Make yourselves scabs?...Your affections are
> A sick man's appetite, who desires most that
> Which would increase his evil....What's the matter,
> That in these several places of the city
> You cry against the noble senate, who,
> Under the gods, keep you in awe, which else
> *Would feed on one another*?[1]

If Marcius had been able to make his language a little more conciliatory, he would have spoken exactly like Sir Thomas More:

> Grant...that you sit as kings in your desires,
> Authority quite silenced by your brawl,
> And you in ruff of your opinions clothed,
> What had you got? I'll tell you: you had taught
> How insolence and strong hand should prevail,
> How order should be quelled; and by this pattern
> Not one of you should live an aged man.
> For other ruffians, as their fancies wrought
> With self same hand, self reasons, and self right,
> Would shark on you, and men like ravenous fishes
> *Would feed on one another*[2].

The language of Coriolanus leaps over stages of thought, as we expect that of any angry man to do, let alone an angry man in one of Shakespeare's later plays. But the thought which is explicit in More's speech is implicit in that of Coriolanus, and leads them both to their conclusion in this identical figure involving an identical half-line.

[1] *Coriolanus*, I. i. 168, etc.
[2] *Sir Thomas More*, Addition II, 195–210.

Ulysses speaks at length, as More does, for he too is explaining the result of anarchy, not denouncing it, like Coriolanus. But Ulysses is explaining to a king, not to a mob, so that the thought is expressed in language of more measured dignity. It leads, however, to the same conclusion:

> Take but degree away, untune that string,
> And hark, what discord follows! Each thing meets
> In mere oppugnancy: the bounded waters
> Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores
> And make a sop of all this solid globe:
> Strength should be lord of imbecility,
> And the rude son should strike his father dead:
> Force should be right; or rather, right and wrong
> Between whose endless jar justice resides,
> Should lose their names, and so should justice too.
> Then everything includes itself in power,
> Power into will, will into appetite;
> And appetite, an universal wolf,
> So doubly seconded with will and power,
> Must make perforce an universal prey,
> *And last eat up himself*[1].

The rioters whom More is addressing are loyal to the king. Agamemnon's authority has been flouted, but he is still the Grecian general. Most people would hold that there is no need to trouble yet with any such thoughts as these of ravenous fishes and universal wolves eating up themselves. Shakespeare would not.

(*b*) Ulysses' comparison of the insubordinate to 'bounded waters' lifting 'their bosoms higher than the shores' is an ordinary one enough. It comes again in *Hamlet*:

[1] *Troilus and Cressida*, I. iii. 109, etc.

> The ocean, overpeering of his list,
> Eats not the flats with more impetuous haste
> Than young Laertes, in a riotous head,
> O'erbears your officers.

But when we come to *Sir Thomas More* and *Coriolanus* we find this ordinary comparison in contexts which are quite extraordinarily alike. In *More*, Surrey and Shrewsbury enter and try to speak, whilst the leader of the mob, in an effort to still the tumult, exclaims to his followers 'Peace, I say, Peace! Are you men of wisdom, or what are you?' The young noble, Surrey, interjects a scoffing 'What you will have them, but not men of wisdom.' This naturally provokes an outburst from the crowd: 'We'll not hear my lord of Surrey, No, No, No, No, No.' Then More first speaks:

> Whiles they are *o'er the bank of their obedience*
> *Thus will they bear down all things.*

And, at the invitation of the mob, More then tries what can be effected by a less provocative style of address from a man in humbler station.

It is with a similar metaphor that Cominius hurries Coriolanus off the scene:

> Will you hence
> Before the tag return? Whose rage doth rend
> Like interrupted waters, *and o'erbear*
> *What they are used to bear.*

And Menenius is left behind to patch matters on behalf of 'the consul':

> *Sic.* Consul! What consul?
> *Men.* The consul Coriolanus.
> *Bru.* He consul!
> *Citizens.* No, No, No, No, No.

Men. If by the tribunes' leave, and yours, good people
I may be heard....[1]

(*c*) The third figure used by More is used by Marcius, but not in the mob-scenes. He describes Titus Lartius as:

Holding Corioli in the name of Rome,
Even like a fawning greyhound in the leash
To let him slip at will[2].

Now Lartius, who with his troops is in occupation of Corioli, is certainly holding it like a hound in the leash. But what is the signification of

To let him slip at will?

We must not think that his love of field-sports is making Shakespeare carry on a figure after it has ceased to be relevant. If we turn back 40 lines, we see Lartius calling together the governors of the town which he has won by force:

Go, sound thy trumpet in the market place,
Call thither all the officers o' the town
Where they shall know our mind.

Lartius neither destroyed the town nor annexed it to Rome: it is understood that it 'will be delivered back on good condition.' Meanwhile the unfortunate magnates are having a poor time. Lartius is

Condemning some to death, and some to exile;
Ransoming him or pitying, threatening the other;

The picture at the back of Shakespeare's mind is that of armed force dictating to a punished, terrorized, puppet government; and this reminds him of a hound being slipped from the leash, to follow whatever prey his master chooses, and that only.

[1] III. i. 247, etc. [2] I. vi. 37, etc.

Now, as has been pointed out above, the rebels in *Sir Thomas More* are not disloyal to the king. But it is More's object to show them that their demand for the banishing of foreigners, urged as it is by violence, is a dictation to the government which cannot be allowed:

> You'll put down strangers,
> Kill them, cut their throats, possess their houses,
> And lead the majesty of law in liom
> *To slip him like a hound*[1].

(*d*) Besides these three figures, used in More's speech to illustrate the action of the crowd, other images are passing through the writer's mind, and though these images have doubtless been used by others besides Shakespeare, the frequency with which these Shakespearian echoes recur is extraordinary:

> And that you sit as kings in your desires.

Simpson[2] long ago was reminded of

> Whether beauty, birth, or wealth, or wit,
> Or any of these all, or all, or more,
> Entitled in thy parts do crowned sit[3],

> And you in ruff of your opinions clothed,

'ruff' (i.e. heat, pride) 'of opinions' suggests the idea of clothing, and so is elaborated into a metaphor. So in *Coriolanus*, 'rubbing the poor itch of your opinion,' suggests a further metaphor.

(*e*) Alike in the '147 lines' and in *Richard II*,

[1] Addition II, 242.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, VIII. p. 2, 1871. Simpson also called attention to 'ruff of opinions.'

[3] Sonnet 37.

similar language is used when the king is exalted as the figure of God,

> And, *to add ampler majesty to this,*
> God hath not only *lent the king his figure,*
> His throne, his sword, but given him his own name
> Calls him a god on earth....[1]

> And shall the *figure of God's majesty,*
> His Captain, Steward, Deputy elect,
> Anointed, crowned, planted many years,
> Be judged by subject and inferior breath,
> And he himself not present?[2]

(*f*) Again, in both *Coriolanus* and the '147 lines,' the majesty of the state is compared to the majesty of God or the heavens, and contrasted with the undisciplined impotence of the rioters, who are advised to use their knees in prayer rather than their arms or hands in fight:

> What do you then
> Rising 'gainst him that God himself installs
> But *rise 'gainst God*? What do you to your souls,
> In doing this, O desperate as you are?
> Wash your foul minds with tears, and *those same hands*
> That you like rebels lift against the peace,
> Lift up for peace, and your *unreverent knees*
> Make them your feet, to kneel to be forgiven
> [Is safer wars than *ever you can make*
> Whose discipline is riot....[3]]
>
> You may as well
> *Strike at the heaven* with your staves as lift them
> Against the Roman state; whose course will on
> The way it takes, cracking ten thousand curbs

[1] *Sir Thomas More*, Addition II, 224–7.
[2] *Richard II*, IV. i. 125.
[3] *Sir Thomas More*, Addition II, 227–36.

Of more strong link asunder than *can ever*
Appear in your impediment. For the dearth,
The gods, not the patricians, make it, and
Your *knees* to them, not *arms*, must help[1].

Here the parallels are certainly less striking. In the first case the wickedness, in the second the futility of rebellion is emphasized: in one case prayer for forgiveness is recommended, in the other prayer against dearth. The resemblances *may* be accidental.

(*g*) 'You...whose discipline is riot,' says Sir Thomas More. Jack Cade says the same,

But then are we in order when we are most out of order[2].

(*h*) Note the extraordinary likeness with which the attempt of the speakers to get a hearing, and the interrupters calling for silence, are depicted in *More* and in *Julius Caesar*,

Surrey. Friends, Masters, Countrymen—
Mayor. Peace, ho! Peace! I charge you keep the peace.
Shrew. My masters, Countrymen—
Sher. The noble earl of Shrewsbury, let's hear him.

Compare,

Brutus. My Countrymen,—
Sec. Cit. Peace, Silence! Brutus speaks.
First Cit. Peace, ho!
Brutus. Good countrymen, let me depart alone....

Or,

Antony. You gentle Romans—
All. Peace, ho! Let us hear him....
Antony. Friends, Romans, Countrymen....[3]

[1] *Coriolanus*, I. i. 69, etc.

[2] IV. ii. 200. This, like the 'argo' mentioned below, comes in the First Folio, but not in the *Contention*.

[3] III. ii.

(*i*) And it may be an accident that the two earliest examples of the verb 'to shark' quoted in the *New English Dictionary* are the one in *More* and the one in *Hamlet*. So may the choice of words by which the rebels are admonished 'give up yourself to form,' whilst Menenius undertakes to produce Coriolanus.

> Where he shall answer by a lawful form.

But the argument of accidental resemblance, to be convincing, must be used with economy. The question is whether the eleven resemblances noted above (five or six of them striking) are not more than can be fairly expected to occur accidentally within less than one hundred lines.

And they do not suggest imitation; many of them point rather to those subtle links of thought by which ideas are associated in one mind.

We must add to these resemblances in the 97 lines, spoken by the exponents of order, the further points of resemblance in the 50 lines devoted to the mob.

iii. *The Common People in Shakespeare*

For the writer of the '147 lines' resembles Shakespeare in the words and conduct of his common people no less than in the oratory of his statesmen. The part played by the halfpenny loaf in 2 *Henry VI* and *More* is obvious; so is the logic-chopping discourse of the rioters with their 'argo': 'our country is a great eating country, argo they eat more in our country than they do in their own.' We have the wrestling metaphor 'have us on the hip,' which, unless Dyce

is quite at fault, was used more frequently by Shakespeare than by most people[1].

But what is most striking is that the writer attributes to his crowd strongly contrasted qualities, good and bad. Shakespeare does the same: as Tennyson says, 'It is the glory of Shakespeare, he can give you the incongruity of things.' Shakespeare has thereby puzzled generations of critics, who are unable to appreciate such incongruity.

And, first we must note that in the words of Mr Bradley, Shakespeare's poor and humble 'are, almost without exception, sound and sweet at heart, faithful and pitiful[2].' Bradley is speaking of those two plays where Shakespeare seems least at peace with human nature, *Timon* and *Lear*; plays in which the faithful steward and Gloster's old tenant, the servants and the fool, form a contrast to well-born traitors and time-servers. But, as Bradley says, Shakespeare's feeling on this subject, though apparently specially keen at this time of his life, is much the same throughout. We have Adam in *As You Like It*, the faithful groom and the pitiful gardener in *Richard II*.

[1] The expression 'have upon the hip' says Dyce 'though twice [rather thrice] used by Shakespeare, is not of frequent occurrence' (*Sir Thomas More*, p. 25) and again in his *Remarks* (1844, p. 52), 'the commentators are evidently at a loss for an example of this phrase in some other writer.' A good many examples have been collected since the time of Dyce, and one of these points to the phrase having been fairly common: 'If he have us at the advantage, "on the hip" *as we say*' (Andrews, 'A Sermon preached before the King's Majesty at Whitehall,' 1617, cf. Arrowsmith, in *Notes and Queries*, Series I, VII. 376, 1853). Nevertheless the three examples in Shakespeare (*Merchant*, I. iii. 46; IV. i. 350; *Othello*, II. i. 338) show him to have been unusually fond of the metaphor.

[2] *Shakespearean Tragedy*, 1905, p. 326.

Further, even in his ridicule of humble folk, Shakespeare generally shows a loving touch. The keen sympathy of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch[1] has taught us to see this even in Stephano, 'in extremity to be counted on for the fine confused last word of our mercantile marine, "Every man shift for all the rest."' And all must agree with Walter Bagehot that Shakespeare was '*sympathizingly* cognizant with the talk of the illogical classes[2].' If Hippolyta is bored by Bottom and his company, and cannot conceal her impatience, Shakespeare did not expect us to see them with her eyes. The story of *Much Ado*, as Shakespeare found it, was one in which all the actors belonged to gentle circles, and the solution came from the confession of one or other of the courtly culprits. Shakespeare added Dogberry, Verges and the Watch. He delighted in them: and in the hands of the absurd Watch of Messina he placed the detection of the plot which had deceived all the nobles, and against which even Beatrice could suggest no better remedy than, 'Kill Claudio.' Further, Shakespeare's love of irony has led him to arrange the order of events, so as to bring Leonato face to face with Dogberry and the detected plot *before* the wedding. If Leonato, instead of dismissing Dogberry as 'tedious' had possessed Shakespeare's 'kindly fellow-feeling for the narrow intelligence necessarily induced by narrow circumstances,' he would have saved himself considerable trouble, at the expense of wrecking the catastrophe of the play.

Despite anything the gentles may say, we love Bottom and we love Dogberry: even Carlyle so far

[1] *The Tempest*, Cambridge, 1921: Introduction, liv.
[2] Bagehot, *Literary Studies*, 1879, I. 146 (Shakespeare).

overcame his dislike of fools as to love Dogberry. Yet when, instead of 'Dogberry' or 'Bottom,' we read '1st Citizen,' or '2nd Citizen,' we are very prone to see them, if not with the eyes of Coriolanus, at any rate of a patrician partizan. And it must be granted that in 2 *Henry VI* the picture *is* partizan: the crowd is foolish and murderous. Yet even here, the touches which are most Shakespearian are precisely those which are least venomous. But we have seen that though the crowd in the '147 lines' (with its 'argo' and its economic fallacies concerning the halfpenny loaf) reminds us of Jack Cade and his followers, we are on safer ground if we compare it with the crowds in *Coriolanus* and in *Julius Caesar*, crowds which are *entirely* of Shakespeare's own making.

We may admit that Shakespeare hated and despised the tribunes in *Coriolanus* with a bitterness which he rarely felt towards any of his creatures. And we may admit (with reservations) that in Shakespeare 'when a "citizen" is mentioned, he generally does or says something absurd[1].' But Shakespeare did not dislike absurd people, and demonstrably he did not dislike the mob in *Coriolanus*.

We must remember that the plebeians as a whole (apart from the tribunes) never have a chance of seeing Marcius' bearing to his fellow patricians. All they can see of him is that he is a valiant soldier, and that he hates them fanatically. It is in their hearing that Marcius says:

> Would the nobility lay aside their ruth,
> And let me use my sword, I'ld make a quarry
> With thousands of these quarter'd slaves, as high
> As I could pick my lance.

[1] Bagehot, *Literary Studies*, 1879, I. 160.

Now the citizens are starving, and in arms: it is little wonder that they are determined to kill Marcius, 'for the gods know I speak this in hunger for bread, not in thirst for revenge': 'He's a very dog to the commonalty.' The citizens have no cause to suspect, as we who know him better have, that he is a dog whose bark is worse than his bite. Nevertheless, listen to the second citizen:

Sec. Cit. Consider you what services he has done for his country?

First Cit. Very well: and could be content to give him good report for't, but that he pays himself with being proud.

Sec. Cit. Nay, but speak not maliciously.

First Cit. I say unto you, what he hath done famously, he did to that end: though soft-conscienced men can be content to say it was for his country, he did it to please his mother, and to be partly proud: which he is, even to the altitude of his virtue.

Sec. Cit. What he cannot help in his nature, you account a vice in him.

The second citizen has a charity which should cover a multitude of sins.

The tumult is appeased, Marcius again wins honour in the war, and the citizens are magnanimous enough to support their old enemy against all competitors for the consulship. This comes of course from Plutarch: but Plutarch makes it clear that up to this point there had not been on either side the exasperation which Shakespeare depicts. Such scenes as the plebeians seeking to kill Marcius, or Marcius threatening massacre to thousands of the plebeians, are out of the question, at this stage, in Shakespeare's source. All

the greater, you may say, Shakespeare's estimate of the changeableness of the citizens: but assuredly all the greater his estimate of their generosity and forgiveness. Listen to their talk:

First Cit. Once, if he do require our voices, we ought not to deny him.
Sec. Cit. We may, sir, if we will.
Third Cit. We have power in ourselves to do it, but it is a power that we have no power to do: for if he show us his wounds, and tell us his deeds, we are to put our tongues into those wounds and speak for them; so, if he tell us his noble deeds, we must also tell him our noble acceptance of them. Ingratitude is monstrous: and for the multitude to be ingrateful, were to make a monster of the multitude; of which we being members, should bring ourselves to be monstrous members.

The citizens recall a bitter old gibe of Marcius', but only as subject for good natured chaff, half admitting it to be true. And the Third Citizen sums up 'I say, if he would incline to the people, there was never a worthier man.' And though their speech is grotesque, the citizens also are worthy men.

And all this frank generosity Marcius rewards by open scorn, and by a haughty refusal to show his wounds according to custom. The citizens are surprised: nevertheless they do not at first go back upon their decision to support him against his rivals:

Third Cit. But this is something odd.
Sec. Cit. An 'twere to give again—but 'tis no matter.

When the different groups of two or three, who have been talking to Marcius, meet together again in a

body, they find that they have all been mocked alike, though even here the voice of charity is heard:

First Cit. No, 'tis his kind of speech; he did not mock us.

If we compare carefully the citizens' report of Marcius' demeanour with his actual words, there is no misrepresentation, except on the part of the charitable citizen. Then the tribunes intervene and denounce the 'childish friendliness' that would yield voices 'to him that did not ask but mock,' whilst refusing votes to those who ask in proper form:

> He did solicit you in free contempt
> When he did need your loves; and do you think
> That his contempt shall not be bruising to you
> When he hath power to crush?

Of course, it is because he so badly needs their voices that Marcius has been insolent to the citizens. He is too proud to flatter. It is a proof of the meanness of spirit of the tribunes that, whilst they know Marcius well enough to play on his weaknesses, they never understand his nobility. Still, their argument looks logical enough, and we cannot wonder that, so admonished, the citizens decide to refuse Marcius:

> He's not confirm'd: we may deny him yet.

Which of us, in their place, would have done otherwise?

Now, not only is this not Plutarch's story: it is the direct reverse of Plutarch's story:

Now Martius, following this custom, showed many wounds and cuts upon his body, which he had received in seventeen years' service at the wars, and in many sundry battles, being ever the foremost man that did set out feet to fight. So that there was not a man among the people but was

ashamed of himself to refuse so valiant a man; and one of them said to another, We must needs choose him consul, there is no remedy. But when the day of election was come, and that Marcius came to the market place with great pomp, accompanied with all the Senate and the whole nobility of the city about him, who sought to make him consul with the greatest instance and entreaty they could, or ever attempted for any man or matter; then the love and good will of the common people turned straight to an hate and envy toward him, fearing to put this office of sovereign authority into his hands, being a man somewhat partial toward the nobility....

And, to point the moral, North adds a marginal note, 'See the fickle minds of common people.' In Plutarch, then, the change is due solely to the political fears of the plebeians, and there is no hint, at this point, of scornful bearing on the part of Marcius: if his friends err, it is by making too great entreaty on his behalf. Nor is there any question here in Plutarch of interference on the part of the tribunes. Shakespeare has altered the facts, as he received them, to exonerate the people at the expense of their leaders, and, above all, of Marcius.

Then, when he learns that the citizens will no longer support him, Shakespeare's Marcius exclaims, 'Have I had children's voices' (as though he himself were not the cause of the change), and proposes to deprive the people of their liberties 'and throw their power i' the dust.' The tribunes answer by accusing him of treason, and demanding his punishment. Here again Shakespeare has altered his authority. In Plutarch, the people reject Marcius and elect his rivals consuls: and there for the moment matters rest: it is later, as a private senator, and with no claim of

his own to the consulship, that Marcius proposes to take the office of tribune from the people. Shakespeare's main object in making this change is no doubt to hasten the action: but it also has the effect of justifying the citizens. When Marcius, regarded by the nobility as consul elect, and so regarding himself, meets the opposition of the plebeians by proposing the destruction of all their liberties, what can the citizens do, except back their leaders in demanding his banishment? For 'he hath power to crush.'

Yet, even at this stage, Menenius (who should know, and who does not flatter the people except sometimes to their face) believes that, if Marcius will but utter a few gentle words, it will not only save him from banishment ('save what is dangerous present') but even now gain him the consulship ('save the loss of what is past'). If he will but recant publicly what he has spoken,

> why, their hearts were yours,
> For they have pardons, being ask'd, as free
> As words to little purpose.

But it cannot be: for between the headstrong temper of Marcius, and the venomous malice of the tribunes, who deliberately play upon that temper, the citizens are as helpless as Othello in the toils of Iago.

The fickleness of the citizens in *Julius Caesar*, and the effect upon them of the legacies in Caesar's will, have been the theme of many moralists. Certainly the citizens change their minds. Yet it was a difficult problem. The world has never been able to make up its mind upon this act of Brutus. Swift puts Brutus with Sir Thomas More among the six noblest of men: Dante with Cassius and Judas as one of the three basest: yet we blame the handicraft men of Rome

because they cannot decide directly; ay, and briefly; ay, and wisely.

The citizens are instantly carried away by Antony's appeal to their pity for fallen greatness, and by the sincere sorrow of a man for his friend. They are won over to Antony's side before he makes any mention of Caesar's will. It increases their indignation, naturally, when they hear that the man who has been done to death as a public enemy had made the public his heirs. (I am defending their hearts, not their heads.) But, at the sight of Caesar's mantle they forget all, and are rushing off to seek the conspirators, when Antony calls them back:

> Why, friends, you go to do you know not what:
> Wherein hath Caesar thus deserved your loves?
> Alas, you know not; I must tell you then;
> You have forgot the will I told you of.

The Roman citizens in Shakespeare are honest fellows, whose difficulty in keeping to any fixed view is due chiefly to their own generous impulses, and to the faults and crimes of their 'betters.' They are rightly grateful to Caesar for his services to the state. They are rightly grateful to Pompey. When the tribunes reproach them for ingratitude in forgetting Pompey while celebrating Caesar,

> They vanish tongue-tied in their guiltiness.

They cannot help it that one of their idols has killed the other. Quite rightly they do not wish Caesar to become king. Quite rightly, when the conspirators kill Caesar, they demand satisfaction. If Shakespeare intended us to despise the crowd, why did he show us them convinced by the speech of the noble Brutus, rather than by the less noble arguments that Cassius

must have used? Brutus appeals to his personal integrity. Antony argues that the conspirators were moved by envy. The people are convinced by each speaker in turn: and with much reason, for

> All the conspirators, save only he,
> Did that they did in envy of great Caesar;
> He only, in a general honest thought
> And common good to all, made one of them.

If the crowd are overcome, it is by no ignoble hand. It is right that the citizens should listen with respect and approval to the rather austere patriotism of Brutus. But Shakespeare has shown us Antony standing alone over the body of Caesar, and we see that though in addressing the crowd he may employ sophistry, his passionate sorrow for Caesar is sincere enough. This has its effect on the crowd, as it must have had on any body of generous men: 'Poor soul, his eyes are red as fire with weeping': 'There's not a nobler man in Rome than Antony.' The citizens are sometimes spoken of as prejudiced. Is it not rather the case that they have no sufficient convictions, or even prejudices, to save them from their impulses? One is reminded of Burke's words on the usefulness of prejudice. If the crowd in *Coriolanus* had shown more prejudice, things might have gone better. It is the foolish good-nature of the citizens which tempts Coriolanus to his destruction. A more implacable crowd would have made it obvious to the enemy of the people that, if he could not control his contempt of the electors, he must

> Let the high office and the honour go.

When, in the end, the third citizen says, 'That we did, we did for the best; and though we willingly

consented to his banishment, yet it was against our will,' there is, as so often in Shakespeare, real truth beneath this inconsequent nonsense.

As shown, then, in the Roman plays, the crowd is often absurd in speech; it resents scorn; it is easily swayed and excited, and when excited it is prone to lynch indiscriminately. On the other hand, it is warm-hearted, grateful, and in *Coriolanus* (where alone the question of forgiveness arises) the mob is, as Menenius admits, eminently forgiving. Further, Shakespeare is willing to take liberties with his sources, in order to bring out the noble side. This is noteworthy in the man who put the great speech on 'degree' into the mouth of Ulysses.

And Shakespeare, in a way even more noteworthy, showed this belief in the responsiveness of the crowd to a noble appeal. The crowd that thronged the Globe theatre 'asked for bloodshed, and he gave them *Hamlet*: they asked for foolery, and he gave them *King Lear*.' And, in return, he received 'all men's suffrage.'

Surely, of all people, an Elizabethan playwright-actor-manager must have known what he thought of the crowd. It would have been strange, if the man who was to make such an appeal, and receive such a response, had at any time thought meanly of the crowd. It is not strange that he thought meanly of the baser kind of demagogue. He who had given his noblest, and thereby had become 'the applause, delight, the wonder of our Stage,' had the right to condemn those who seek popularity by an ignoble appeal. But when, over and over again, he altered history, with the effect of making the action of a crowd of Roman mechanicals more generous, I am

bold enough to believe that it is not rash to suppose that he knew what he was doing.

iv. *The Common People in the* '147 *lines*'

The crowd in the '147 lines' are, like the Shakespearian crowd, absurd in speech, especially when most trying to be logical. They resent scorn, and are stung to passion by the contempt of the Sergeant and of Surrey. They are easily swayed and excited, and are in a mood as murderous as that of the citizens who would kill Marcius, or the citizens who do kill Cinna the poet. 'We will show no mercy upon the strangers' they say. More, who has no reason to exaggerate their ferocity, says:

> you'll put down strangers,
> Kill them, cut their throats, possess their houses.

And, whilst they have all the dangerousness of the crowd in Shakespeare, they are at the same time made to speak that peculiar dialect which Shakespeare, with his 'kindly fellow-feeling for the narrow intelligence necessarily induced by narrow circumstances' puts into the mouths of his citizens and clowns. Who can fail to love a rioter whose grievance against the aliens is that 'they bring in strange roots, which is merely to the undoing of poor prentices, for what's a sorry parsnip to a good heart?' When the mob are calling on More to speak, Doll Williamson finds a truly Shakespearian reason why the crowd should listen to him rather than to his colleagues:

> Let's hear him: a keeps a plentiful shrevaltry, and a made my brother Arthur Watchins Sergeant Safe's yeoman: let's hear Shrieve More.

This is the kind of argument Mistress Quickly would

have used. But Shakespeare, says Walter Bagehot, 'would never have interrupted Mrs Quickly; he saw that her mind was going to and fro over the subject; he saw that it was coming right, and this was enough for him.' It is so with Doll's mind:

More. Good masters, hear me speak.
Doll. Ay, by the mass, will we, More, th'art a good housekeeper, and I thank thy good worship for my brother Arthur Watchins.
All. Peace, Peace.
More. Look, what you do offend you cry upon
That is the peace....

And when More pauses, Doll is the first to show that she feels the truth of his argument.

More places before these absurd and illogical rioters the loftiest arguments on behalf of authority. And he is successful. It is an act of faith, as Shakespeare's plays were, and it meets with the same response.

We have already seen how very Shakespearian much of this argument is. It is an appeal to duty, from many points of view. To each appeal the crowd listens patiently, and in the end gives complete assent. More terrorizes the mob, not by putting before them the penalties involved by the failure of their enterprise, but the penalties involved by its success:

> Alas, poor things, what is it you have got
> Although we grant you get the thing you seek?

The overthrow of authority, he argues, will end in disaster for them. And with amazing clear-sightedness the leaders of the crowd see the force of the argument:

> Nay, this a sound fellow, I tell you, let's mark him.

Then More goes on to appeal to the larger whole. To seek the death of the aliens by the overthrow of authority is to be in arms against God. The effect of this argument upon the rioters is instant. Then, from duty to God, More passes to duty to our neighbour. And here comes the only reference to punishment, introduced, not for its own sake but as an illustration; not as a thing specially interesting either the speaker or his audience, but as a stage in the argument. Supposing the king should be so merciful as merely to banish the rebels, how would they like to be treated abroad as they are treating the aliens in London? And, again, with amazing magnanimity, the rebels agree:

> Faith a says true, let us do as we may be done by.

Then, as they surrender, the rebels entreat More to stand their friend and procure their pardon. More refers them to the Lord Mayor, and the great nobles whom they had just shouted down,

> Submit you to these noble gentlemen,
> Entreat their mediation to the king,
> Give up yourself to form, obey the magistrate,
> And there's no doubt but mercy may be found,
> If you so seek it.

More is merely sheriff: in the presence of superior officers he cannot promise pardon, but refers the crowd hopefully to those in authority.

Now the writer of the '147 lines' is not responsible for having made the rioters listen to reason in the words of More. That, though not historical, was part of the prearranged plot to which he had to write. But he *is* responsible for the loftiness of the arguments which he puts into the mouth of More, and

to which he makes the crowd assent. The obvious thing to have dwelt upon would have been the fear of punishment and the hope of pardon.

The first version of More's speech—the version which was superseded by the '147 lines'—is almost all lost. But in More's soliloquy beforehand, what he is thinking of is

> the law's debt
> Which hangs upon their lives,

and the fact that unthinking men who join a rebellion

> incur
> Self penalty with those that raised this stir[1].

Three lines of a speech in which the rebels are persuaded to surrender are preserved:

> To persist in it, is present death; but if you yield yourselves, no doubt what punishment you in simplicity have incurred, his highness in mercy will most graciously pardon[2].
> *All.* We yield, and desire his highness' mercy.
> [*They lay by their weapons.*

References in the other scenes make it clear that, in the first draft, what More did was to secure, in exchange for a promise of pardon, the surrender of the crowd, terrorized by the threat of present death.

Nothing could be more unlike this than the arguments which in the '147 lines' appeal to the crowd. The appeal is to generosity, fair-play, pity; to those motives which orators as dissimilar as More, Menenius, and Antony know will sway a crowd which is 'sound and sweet at heart, faithful and pitiful.' And all the time, the same writer is laughing at the absurd want of logic of this same crowd. More must be listened to

[1] Addition II, 112, etc.
[2] ll. *473–6.

because 'a made my brother Arthur Watchins Sergeant Safe's yeoman.'

v. *Conclusion*

Now a passionate advocacy of authority, such as we find in the speeches of Ulysses and of More, is likely enough to be combined with such keen feeling of the instability and absurdity of the crowd as we find in the same scene in *More*, or in *Coriolanus*, or in *Julius Caesar*. But it *is* remarkable to find it combined with such confidence in the generosity of the common people as we also find in these three plays. Was such a view common at any period of history? It is assuredly not the view that Shakespeare is in the habit of putting dramatically into the mouth of either aristocrat or demagogue. Menenius comes near it. And Menenius is one of those characters of whom one feels that Shakespeare approved; and never more so than when Menenius summed up the character of the citizens in a dozen words exactly corresponding to Shakespeare's picture of them: 'they have pardons, being asked, as free as words to little purpose.' But this breadth of view is uncommon.

Shakespeare's aristocrats as a class are more prone to dwell upon the faults of the rabble than upon their generosity or forgiveness. And accordingly recent critics have represented Shakespeare as an enemy of the people, and contrasted him with other English poets, above all with Milton 'as to whose fidelity to democracy there can indeed be no question.' It is often forgotten that this denunciation of the crowd is a commonplace of English poetry: of Chaucer with his 'stormy peple unsad and ever untrewe': of Spenser

with his 'raskal meny': of Milton to whom the people are 'a herd confused, a miscellaneous rabble'

Of whom to be dispraised were no small praise[1].

There is, however, this essential difference. Shakespeare puts his bitter words into the mouth of the blunt Casca, or of Coriolanus or Cleopatra in their wrath. As Dr Bradley points out, his noblest characters do not use language like this. But Chaucer and Spenser are speaking in their own persons. And Milton does not scruple to put his words of cold and biting contempt into the mouth of Christ himself.

What is peculiar about Shakespeare is not that he can see where the crowd goes wrong, but that he can see where it goes right: and above and beyond all, what is characteristic of him and of the author of the '147 lines' is the ability to see both things together. It is not so with his contemporaries. Before they draw a mob-scene, they make up their minds whether they are in sympathy with the mob, or out of sympathy. If they are out of sympathy, we get mob-scenes like those in *Jack Straw*, or Heywood's *Edward IV*, in which the bad qualities of the mob are depicted without relief[2]. If they are in sympathy, then we have such a picture as that given in the other mob-scenes of *Sir Thomas More*, where the playwrights treat with respect not only the general attitude of the rioters, but for the most part the actual words in which they explain themselves. In these

[1] See the excellent article by Prof. Frederick Tupper on 'The Shaksperean Mob,' *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. Amer.* XXVII. 486–523 (1912).

[2] I take it that the bearing of the citizens in *Philaster* (Act v. Sc. iv.) is deliberately assumed to impress Pharamond with fear of the 'wild cannibals' into whose hands he has fallen

other scenes the prentices may break into slang and catchwords, and the clown may crack clownish jokes, but the leaders of the mob make plain, straightforward, sensible speeches. The dramatist makes them say what he in their place would have said. When we turn to the '147 lines,' Lincoln and Doll Williamson are different people. It is not that the author of the '147 lines' does not think as highly of Doll and Lincoln as the other writers. He does. The magnanimity of the argument More is about to address to them, and to which they are to respond, is a proof. But in the meantime he makes them talk typical Shakespearian nonsense.

Now this mixture, so far as I know, is quite peculiar to Shakespeare.

> In his treatment of that kind of politics which is inwoven with human nature (says Coleridge), Shakespeare is quite peculiar....Hence you will observe the good-nature with which he seems always to make sport with the passions and follies of a mob, as with an irrational animal. He is never angry with it, but hugely content with holding up its absurdities to its face; and sometimes you may trace a tone of almost affectionate superiority, *something like that in which a father speaks of the rogueries of a child.*

That Coleridge is right in judging this attitude to be peculiar, is proved by Shakespeare's critics. For the most part they cannot conceive it possible that a man should, at the same time, laugh at the crowd and love it. The greatest Shakespearian critics have assured us that because in *Coriolanus* and elsewhere, Shakespeare shows dislike for mob-orators, hatred of mob-violence and amusement at mob-logic, therefore he disliked and despised the mob. So Hazlitt on *Coriolanus*:

Shakespear...seems to have spared no occasion of baiting the rabble....The whole dramatic moral of *Coriolanus* is that those who have little shall have less, and that those who have much shall take all that others have left. The people are poor; therefore they ought to be starved....They are ignorant; therefore they ought not to be allowed to feel that they want food, or clothing, or rest—that they are enslaved, oppressed and miserable.

So, from a very different point of view, Walter Bagehot:

The author of *Coriolanus* never believed in a mob, and did something towards preventing anybody else from doing so. ...You will generally find that when a 'citizen' is mentioned, he does or says something absurd. Shakespeare had a clear perception that it is possible to bribe a class as well as an individual, and that personal obscurity is but an insecure guarantee for political disinterestedness.

> Moreover, he hath left you all his walks,
> His private arbours and new planted orchards
> On this side Tiber.

Dowden enters a caveat to the effect that the 'citizens' do not always say absurd things, and he reminds us, justly, of the citizens in *Richard III*. But otherwise he accepts Bagehot's view of the crowd in *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar*, and quotes it at length. (Yet Dowden insists also on the good and kindly instincts of the crowd in *Coriolanus*.)

Sir Sidney Lee speaks of the emphasis laid (in *Coriolanus*) on the ignoble temper of the rabble, even though he points out later that the faults of the aristocratic temper are equally censured.

Sir Walter Raleigh classes *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus* with 2 *Henry VI*, as plays in which 'the common people are made ludicrous and foolish,' without hint-

ing that in the two Roman plays the common people show other characteristics than absurdity and folly.

'Here (in *Coriolanus*),' says Prof. Schelling, 'even more pronouncedly than in *Caesar* and elsewhere, have we Shakespeare's contemptuous attitude towards the mob, which he regards as a thing utterly thoughtless, fickle, and imbecile.'

'The great mind of Shakespeare,' says Mr Masefield, speaking of *Coriolanus*, 'brooding on the many forms of treachery, found nothing more treacherous than the mob.'

Georg Brandes assures us that 'the good qualities and virtues of the people do not exist for Shakespeare' and that he 'seized every opportunity to flout the lower classes; he always gave a satirical and repellent picture of them as a mass.'

A short treatise, written in order to prove Shakespeare the consistent enemy of the people, has achieved the unusual honour of being within a year translated into French and German, and further of having inspired Tolstoi to write his indictment of Shakespeare's works as 'trivial, immoral, and positively bad.' And Tolstoi's indictment has encouraged Mr Bernard Shaw to denounce 'Shakespeare's snobbery,' 'his vulgar prejudices,' 'his ignorance,' 'his weakness and incoherence as a thinker.'

Here we may draw the line.

But others, like Stopford Brook, perceiving that Shakespeare makes the crowd behave quite generously, would therefore see in *Coriolanus* 'the artistic record of the victory of a people, unrighteously oppressed, over their oppressor.' So the tragedy of mother and son is turned into a party pamphlet: 'Shakespeare, but not so openly as to offend his patrons, was in sympathy

with the people': we may make Shakespeare a hypocrite and a coward, if only thereby we can acquit him of being a Conservative.

It is the rarest thing to find a critic, like Mr A. C. Bradley[1], who does not deny Shakespeare's sympathy with one side or the other. Yet this sympathy is demonstrable. It becomes doubly sure when we compare *Coriolanus* with Plutarch. The brief comparison I have outlined above was made without reference to Mr MacCallum's *Shakespeare's Roman Plays*. But, if the reader is not convinced by my statement, let him turn to Mr MacCallum (pp. 484–548). There he will find the comparison set out more fully and more ably than I have drawn it. In view of this comparison, there can be no possible doubt that Mr Bradley is right, when he says that

> the Roman citizens are fundamentally good-natured, like the Englishmen they are, and have a humorous consciousness of their own weaknesses. They are, beyond doubt, mutable, and in that sense untrustworthy; but they are not by nature ungrateful, or slow to admire their bitterest enemy. False charges and mean imputations come from their leaders, not from them.

Now, the scene added to *Sir Thomas More*, brief as it is, displays these good and the bad characteristics of the crowd in such stark and glaring contrast that even the most partizan of us cannot deny the presence of both. Let us, for the moment, lay aside all question of the authorship of the *More*-lines. Whoever wrote them, they suffice to show that an Elizabethan dramatist might possess all Shakespeare's sense for 'degree': that further he might make a mob act as violently, talk as absurdly, and change as rapidly as

[1] A moderate view is also taken by Mr H. N. Hudson.

the mob talk, act and change in Shakespeare; and that nevertheless he might remain convinced of the goodness of heart of the mob, and the certainty of its appreciating the case for generosity and moderation, if such case is honestly put. For that is the whole drift of the scene. We see an honest man telling the crowd what he holds to be the truth, however unpalatable that truth may be: and the crowd proceed to act on it.

Having grasped this fact, let us turn again to Shakespeare. If such impartiality was possible for the author of the *More*-scene, why is it impossible for Shakespeare? And a careful reading shows that Shakespeare *is* equally impartial: takes in fact exactly the same view. A study of the *More*-scene should enable us, babes and sucklings, to avoid an error into which the most wise and prudent of critics have fallen.

Now, if a new passage of Shakespeare's writing were discovered, what might reasonably be expected of it is this: that (whether we recognised it as the work of Shakespeare or not) it would throw light upon, and add to our appreciation of, those passages in the known works of Shakespeare which are most nearly parallel. And this is just what the *More*-scene does.

VI

ILL MAY DAY

BEING SCENES FROM THE PLAY OF

SIR THOMAS MORE

VII

SPECIAL TRANSCRIPT

OF THE

THREE PAGES

EDITED BY W. W. GREG

VI

Note on the Text

THE following is an attempt to supply a consecutive and more or less readable text of the insurrection scenes of *More* after they had undergone extensive revision and were in the form in which, so it is contended, they were submitted to the Censor. His comments thereon will be found in the footnotes. The original is written in four several hands which differ widely from one another not only in appearance but in their habits of spelling, punctuation and all graphic details. Only complete normalization could have produced a uniform text, and in this the whole character of the original would have been lost. Some lack of uniformity in the following pages was judged a lesser evil: at the same time an attempt has been made to avoid mere eccentricity. The very erratic distinction in the use of English and Italian script, in which two out of the four hands indulge, has been ignored; contractions, particularly common in D, have been expanded. In the use of capital letters and to a lesser extent of punctuation some latitude has been allowed: for instance speeches have been made to begin with a capital and end with a stop and proper names have been capitalized: at the same time it has been sought to preserve the general usage of each hand in these respects. Mutilations in the manuscript have been indicated by rows of dots of a length corresponding to the original lacuna, or else the missing words have been conjecturally supplied within brackets. Brackets also distinguish a few accidental omissions of the scribes, and likewise supplementary headings. The original spelling has, of course, been faithfully

preserved, and anyone who cares to compare the habits that distinguish Munday, and hands B and D respectively, will find I think an interesting field of study. It is perhaps worth remembering that Munday, whose spelling is almost regular and (but for his trick of writing 'looue' etc.) astonishingly modern, had been apprenticed to a printer.

[ILL MAY DAY

SCENES FROM] THE BOOKE OF

SIR THOMAS MOORE

[SCENE I.—A street in the City.]

Enter at one end Iohn Lincolne with [the two Bettses] FOL. 3*a*
together, at the other end enters Fraunces de [Barde, and
Doll] a lustie woman, he haling her by the arme.

Doll. Whether wilt thou hale me?
Bard. Whether I please, thou art my prize and I pleade purchase of thee.
Doll. Purchase of me? away ye rascall, I am an honest plaine carpenters wife and thoughe I haue no beautie to like a husband yet whatsoeuer is mine scornes to stoupe to a straunger: hand off then when I bid thee.
Bard. Goe with me quietly, or Ile compell thee.
Doll. Compell me ye dogges face? thou thinkst thou hast the goldsmithes wife in hand, whom thou enticedst from her husband with all his plate, and when thou turndst her home to him againe, madste him (like an asse) pay for his wifes boorde.
Bard. So will I make thy husband too, if please me.

Fol. 3*a*. In the margin the censor has written the note: 'Leaue out ye insurrection wholy & ye Cause ther off & begin wt Sr Tho: Moore att ye mayors sessions wt a reportt afterwards off his good servic don being Shriue off Londō vppō a mutiny Agaynst ye Lūbards only by A shortt reportt & nott otherwise att your own perrilles E Tyllney'.

Sc. i. Part of the original text in the handwriting of Anthony Munday.

Enter Caueler with a paire of dooues, Williamson the carpenter and Sherwin following him.

Doll. Here he comes himselfe, tell him so if thou darste.

Caue. Followe me no further, I say thou shalt not haue them.

Wil. I bought them in Cheapeside, and paide my monie for them.

Sher. He did Sir indeed, and you offer him wrong, bothe to take them from him, and not restore him his monie neither.

Caue. If he paid for them, let it suffise that I possesse them, beefe and brewes may serue such hindes, are piggions meate for a coorse carpenter?

Lin. It is hard when Englishmens pacience must be thus ietted on by straungers and they not dare to reuendge their owne wrongs.

Geo. Lincolne, lets beate them downe, and beare no more of these abuses.

Lin. We may not Betts, be pacient and heare more.

Doll. How now husband? what, one straunger take thy food from thee, and another thy wife? bir Lady flesh and blood I thinke can hardly brooke that.

Lin. Will this geere neuer be otherwise? must these wrongs be thus endured?

Geo. Let vs step in, and help to reuendge their iniurie.

Bard. What art thou that talkest of reuendge? my Lord Ambassadour shall once more make your Maior haue a check, if he punishe thee not for this saucie presumption.

27. From this line on practically the whole of the scene has been marked for omission (by having a line drawn down the margin) and 27–9, 33–9 have been crossed out as well, apparently by Tilney.

Wil. Indeed my Lord Maior, on the Ambassadours complainte, sent me to Newgate one day, because (against my will) I tooke the wall of a straunger. You may doo anything, the goldsmiths wife, and mine now must be at your commaundment.

Geo. The more pacient fooles are ye bothe to suffer it.

Bard. Suffer it? mend it thou or he if ye can or dare, I tell thee fellowe, and she were the Maior of Londons wife, had I her once in my possession, I would keep her in spite of him that durst say nay.

Geo. I tell thee Lombard, these wordes should cost thy best cappe, were I not curbd by dutie and obedience. The Maior of Londons wife? Oh God, shall it be thus?

Doll. Why Bettes, am not I as deare to my husband, as my Lord Maiors wife to him, and wilt thou so neglectly suffer thine owne shame? Hands off proude stranger or [by] him that bought me, if mens milkie harts dare not strike a straunger, yet women will beate them downe, ere they beare these abuses.

Bard. Mistresse, I say you shall along with me.

Doll. Touche not Doll Williamson, least she lay thee along on Gods deare earthe. (*to Caueler.*) And you Sir, that allow such coorse cates to carpenters, whilste pidgions which they pay for, must serue your daintie appetite: deliuer them back to my husband again or Ile call so many women to myne assistance, as weele not leaue one inche vntorne of thee. If our husbands must be brideled by lawe, and forced to beare your wrongs, their wiues will be a little lawelesse, and soundly beate ye.

Caue. Come away de Bard, and let vs goe complaine to my Lord Ambassadour. *Exeunt ambo.*

Doll. I, goe, and send him among vs, and weele giue him his welcome too. I am ashamed that free-borne Englishmen, hauing beatten straungers within their owne boun[ds] should thus be brau'de and abusde by them at home.

Sher. It is not our lack of courage in the cause, but the strict obedience that we are bound too: I am the goldsmith whose wrongs you talkte of, but how to redresse yours or mine owne, is a matter beyond all our abilities.

Lin. Not so, not so my good freends, I, though a meane man, a broaker by profession and namd Iohn Lincolne, haue long time winckt at these vilde ennormitees with mighty impacience, and, as these two bretheren heere (Betses by name) can witnesse with losse of mine owne liffe would gladly remedie them.

Geo. And he is in a good forwardnesse I tell ye, if all hit right.

Doll. As how, I pre thee? tell it to Doll Williamson.

Lin. You knowe the Spittle Sermons begin the next weeke, I haue drawne a [bill] of our wrongs, and the straungers insolencies.

Geo. Which he meanes the preachers shall there openly publishe in the pulpit.

Wil. Oh but that they would, yfaith it would tickle our straungers thorowly.

Doll. I, and if you men durst not vndertake it before God we women [would. Take] an honest woman from her husband why it is intollerable.

92. *winckt*] *t* added, perhaps by C.

Sher. But how finde ye the preachers affected to [our proceeding?]

Lin. Maister Doctor Standish.....
.....
.....
[re]forme it and doubts not but happie successe will ensu.....our wrongs. You shall perceiue ther's no hurt in the bill, heer's a copie of it, I pray ye, heare it. Fol. 3*b*

All. With all our harts, for Gods sake read it.

Lin. (*reads*) To you all the worshipfull lords and maisters of this Cittie, that will take compassion ouer the poore people your neighbours, and also of the greate importable hurts, losses and hinderaunces, wherof proceedeth extreame pouertie to all the Kings subiects, that inhabite within this Cittie and subburbs of the same. For so it is that aliens and straungers eate the bread from the fatherlesse children, and take the liuing from all the artificers, and the entercourse from all merchants wherby pouertie is so much encreased, that euery man bewayleth the miserie of other, for craftsmen be brought to beggerie, and merchants to needines. Wherfore, the premisses considered, the redresse must be of the commons, knit and vnited to one parte. And as the hurt and damage greeueth all men, so must all men see to their willing power for remedie, and not suffer the sayde aliens in their wealth, and the naturall borne men of this region to come to confusion.

Doll. Before God, tis excellent, and Ile maintaine the suite to be honest.

Sher. Well, say tis read, what is your further meaning in the matter?

Geo. What? marie list to me. No doubt but this will store vs with freends enow, whose names we will closely keepe in writing, and on May day next in the morning weele goe foorth a Maying, but make it the wurst May day for the straungers that euer they sawe: how say ye? doo ye subscribe, or are ye faintharted reuolters.

Doll. Holde thee George Bettes, ther's my hand and my hart, by the Lord Ile make a captaine among ye, and doo somewhat to be talke of for euer after.

Wil. My maisters, ere we parte, lets freendly goe and drinke together, and sweare true secrecie vppon our liues.

Geo. There spake an angell, come, let vs along then. *Exeunt.*

[Scene II, the Mayor's Sessions, has no connexion with Ill May Day.]

[Scene III. The Council Chamber.]

Enter the Earles of Shrewesburie and Surrie, Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir Roger Cholmeley. Fol.

Shrew. My Lord of Surrey, and Sir Thomas Palmer,
might I with pacience tempte your graue aduise?
I tell ye true, that in these daungerous times,
I doo not like this frowning vulgare brow.

158. *let*] written *lets* and the *s* crossed out, though perhaps only in modern ink.

Sc. iii. This (as well as the intervening Sc. ii) is again part of the original text in Munday's hand.

1–8. Tilney has marked these lines in the margin and added the note: 'Mend y^{is}'.

My searching eye did neuer entertaine,
a more distracted countenaunce of greefe
then I haue late obseru'de
in the displeased commons of the Cittie.
Sur. Tis straunge, that from his princely clemencie,
so well a tempred mercie and a grace,
to all the aliens in this fruitefull land,
that this highe-creasted insolence should spring,
from them that breathe from his maiestick bountie,
that fatned with the trafficque of our countrey:
alreadie leape into his subiects face.
Pal. Yet Sherwin['s] hindred to commence his suite
against de Bard, by the Ambassadour
by supplication made vnto the King.
Who hauing first entic'de away his wife,
and gott his plate, neere woorth foure hundred pound,
to greeue some wronged cittizens, that found,
this vile disgrace oft cast into their teeth:
of late sues Sherwin, and arrested him
for monie for the boording of his wife.
Sur. The more knaue Bard, that vsing Sherwins goods,
dooth aske him interest for the occupation:
I like not that my Lord of Shrewesburie.
Hees ill bested, that lends a well pac'de horsse,
vnto a man that will not finde him meate.
Cholme. My Lord of Surrey will be pleasant still.
Pal. I beeing then imployed by your honors
to stay the broyle that fell about the same,
wher by perswasion I enforc'de the wrongs,
and vrgde the greefe of the displeased Cittie:
he answerd me and with a sollemne oathe

that if he had the Maior of Londons wife,
he would keepe her in despight of any Englishe.
Sur. Tis good Sir Thomas then for you and me,
your wife is dead, and I a batcheler
if no man can possesse his wife alone,
I am glad Sir Thomas Palmer I haue none.
Cholme. If a take my wife, a shall finde her meate.
Sur. And reason good (Sir Roger Cholmeley) too.
If these hott Frenchemen needsly will haue sporte,
they should in kindnesse yet deffraye the charge.
Tis hard when men possesse our wiues in quiet:
and yet leaue vs in to discharge their diett.
Shrew. My Lord, our catours shall not vse the markett,
for our prouision, but some straunger now:
will take the vittailes from him he hath bought.
A carpenter, as I was late enformde,
who hauing bought a paire of dooues in Cheape,
immediately a Frencheman tooke them from him,
and beat the poore man for resisting him.
And when the fellowe did complaine his wrongs:
he was seuerely punish'de for his labour.
Sur. But if the Englishe blood be once but vp,
as I perceiue theire harts alreadie full,
I feare me much, before their spleenes be coolde,
some of these saucie aliens for their pride,

37. Tilney has crossed out *Englishe* and substituted *mã*
49. Tilney has crossed out *straunger* and interlined *lombard*
53. Tilney has crossed out *Frencheman* and interlined *Lombard*
57–70, 73–8 (?) are marked for omission, probably by Tilney.

will pay for't soundly, wheresoere it lights.
This tyde of rage, that with the eddie striues:
I feare me much will drowne too manie liues.
Cholme. Now afore God, your honors, pardon me,
men of your place and greatnesse, are to blame,
I tell ye true my Lords, in that his Maiestie
is not informed of this base abuse,
and dayly wrongs are offered to his subiects
for if he were, I knowe his gracious wisedome,
would soone redresse it.

Enter a Messenger

Shrew. Sirra, what newes?
Cholme. None good I feare.
Mess. My Lord, ill newes, and wursse I feare will followe
if speedily it be not lookte vnto.
The Cittie is in an vproare and the Maior,
is threatned if he come out of his house.
A number poore artifi[cers].....
.....
.....fearde what this would come vnto. Fol. 5*b*
[ ] This followes on the doctours publishing
the bill of wrongs in publique at the Spittle.
Shrew. That doctor Beale may chaunce beshrewe himselfe
for reading of the bill.
Pal. Let vs goe gather forces to the Maior,
for quick suppressing this rebellious route.
Sur. Now I bethinke myselfe of Maister Moore,
one of the Sheriffes, a wise and learned gentleman,
and in especiall fauour with the people.
He backt with other graue and sober men,

may by his gentle and perswasiue speeche
perhaps preuaile more than we can with power.
Shrew. Beleeue me, but your honor well aduises.
Let vs make haste, or I doo greatly feare:
some to their graues this mornings woorke will beare. *Exeunt.*

[Scene IV. A Street in Saint Martin's-le-Grand.]

Enter Lincolne, Betses, Williamson, Sherwin and other armed, Doll in a shirt of maile, a head piece, sword and buckler, a crewe attending.

Clo. Come come wele tickle ther turnips wele butter ther boxes shall strangers rule the roste but wele baste the roste come come a flawnt a flaunte. Fol. 7a

George. Brother giue place and heare Iohn Lincolne speake.

Clo. I Lincolne my leder and Doll my true breder with the rest of our crue shall Ran tan tarra ran · doo all they what they can shall we be bobd braude no shall we be hellde vnder no · we ar fre borne and doo take skorne to be vsde soe.

Sc. iv. This is a revised version written in hand B. The earlier version, part of the original text in Munday's hand, occupies the middle portion of fol. 5*b*. The revision differs little from the original except for the rather lamentable addition of the Clown's part. There is no initial direction in the revision; that printed above is taken from the original version, where it was left standing when the text that follows was deleted. But hand C has written in the margin the alternative direction: 'Enter Lincolne betts williamson Doll.' This ignores Sherwin, who is undoubtedly present in both versions, but who may nevertheless have been marked down for omission (see below, Sc. vi). Fol. 6 contains a revision of a later scene misplaced.

6–11. Dyce prints this jingle as ten lines of verse.

Doll. Pease theare I saye heare captaine Lincolne speake.
Kepe silens till we know his minde at large.
Clo. Then largelye dilliuer speake bullie and he that presumes to interrupte the in thie orratione this for him.
Lincol. Then gallant bloods you whoes fre sowles doo skorne
to beare the inforsed wrongs of alians
ad rage to ressolutione fier the howses
of theis audatious strangers: This is Saint Martins
and yonder dwells Mutas a welthy Piccarde
at the Greene Gate
de Barde Peter van Hollocke Adrian Martine
with many more outlandishe fugetiues
shall theis enioy more priueledge then wee
in our owne cuntry · lets become ther slaiues
since iustis kepes not them in greater awe
wele be ourselues rough ministers at lawe.
Clo. Vse no more swords nor no more words but fier the howses braue captaine curragious fier me ther howses.
Doll. I for we maye as well make bonefiers on maye daye as at midsommer wele alter the daye in the callinder and sett itt downe in flaming letters.
Sher. Staye no that wold much indanger the hole cittie wher too I wold not the leaste preiudice.
Doll. No nor I nether so maie mine owne howse be burnd for companye Ile tell ye what wele drag the strangers into Morefeldes and theare bumbaste them till they stinke againe.

21. *mutas*] *t* altered from *l* probably by C.
Piccarde] so in the original version; miswritten *piccardye* in revision.

Clo. And thats soone doone for they smell for feare all redye.

Geor. Let some of vs enter the strangers houses and if we finde them theare then bring them forthe.

Doll. But if ye bringe them forthe eare ye finde them Ile neare alowe of thatt.

Clo. Now Marsse for thie honner Dutch or Frenshe so yt be a wenshe Ile vppon hir.

Exeunt some and Sherwin.

William. Now lads howe shall we labor in our saftie
I heare the maire hath gatherd men in armes
and that shreue More an hower agoe risseude
some of the privye cownsell in at Ludgate
forse now must make our pease or eles we fall
twill soone be knowne we ar the principall.

Doll. And what of that if thow beest afraide husband go home againe and hide thy hed for by the lord Ile haue a lyttill sporte now we ar att ytt.

Geor. Lets stand vppon our swords and if they come resseaue them as they weare our enemyes.

Enter Sherwin & the rest.

48. The direction has been supplied from the original version; there is none in the revision.

49. *Willia*] written by C over *Linco* of B; the speech has the prefix *Will* in the original version, and Doll's reply puts the attribution beyond question.

59. *Geor.*] B first wrote *Lin* again, but corrected it himself; the original has *Geo.*

swords] original version *Guarde*, but the sense is 'rely on our arms.'

60. *enemyes*] so in the original version; B wrote *eninemyes* but the *i* is crossed out, though perhaps only in modern ink.

The direction has been supplied from the original version; there is none in the revision.

Clo. A purchase a purchase we haue fownd we ha fownde.

Doll. What.

Clo. Nothinge nott a Frenshe Fleminge nor a Fleming Frenshe to be fownde but all fled in plaine Inglishe.

Linco. How now haue you fownd any.

Sher. No not one theyre all fled.

Lincol. Then fier the houses that the maior beinge busye
aboute the quenshinge of them we maye skape
burne downe ther kennells let vs straite awaye
leaste this daye proue to vs an ill Maye daye.

Clo. Fier fier Ile be the firste
if hanginge come tis welcome thats the worste.

Exeunt.

[Scene V. The Guildhall.]

Enter at on dore Sir Thomas Moore and Lord Maire: att another doore Sir Iohn Munday hurt. Fol. 7*b*

L. Maior. What Sir Iohn Munday are you hurt.

74. The direction has again been supplied from the original version. The revision has 'Manett Clowne', but this was added in a different ink and hand, possibly by C, though it is not much like his writing. It was evidently intended to carry the Clown over to a revised version of the Prentice scene (see following note).

Sc. v. This scene, written in hand C, belongs to the revision, where it follows immediately on the revised version of Sc. iv. It is not certain whether or not it had any prototype in the original text, but it seems most likely that it is entirely new and intended to replace the original fifth scene, the beginning of which is still extant following on the original version of Sc. iv at the foot of fol. 5*b*. This fragment, in prose, presents a number of Prentices playing at cudgels in Cheapside and no doubt included the wounding of Sir John Munday as related in the revisional scene. See below, p. 226.

Sir Iohn. A little knock my lord ther was even now
a sort of prentises playing at cudgells
I did comaund them to ther maisters howses
but one of them backt by the other crew
wounded me in the forhead with his cudgill
and now I feare me they are gon to ioine
with Lincolne Sherwine and ther dangerous
traine.

Moore. The captaines of this insurection
have tane themselves to armes · and cam but
now
to both the counters wher they have releast
sundrie indetted prisoners · and from thence
I heere that they are gonn into Saint Martins
wher they intend to offer violence
to the amazed Lombards therfore my lord
if we expect the saftie of the Cittie
tis time that force or parley doe encownter
with thes displeased men.

Enter a Messenger.

L. maior. How now what newes.

Mess. My Lord the rebells have broake open
Newegate
from whence they have deliverd manie
prisoners
both fellons and notorious murderers
that desperatlie cleave to ther lawles traine.

L. Maior. Vpp with the draw bridge gather som forces
to Cornhill and Cheapside. And gentle men ·
If dilligence be vsde one every side
a quiet ebb will follow this rough tide.

Enter Shrowsberie Surrie Palmer · Cholmley.

1–8. Heavily marked for omission.

Shro. Lord Maior his maiestie receaving notice ·
of this most dangerous insurection ·
hath sent my Lord of Surry and myself
Sir Thomas Palmer and our followers
to add vnto [y]our forces our best meanes
for pacifying of this mutinie
In gods name then sett one with happie speed
the king laments if one true subiect bleede.
Surr. I heere they meane to fier the Lumbards howses
oh power what art thou in a madmans eies
thou makst the plodding iddiott bloudy wise.
Moore. My Lords I dowt not but we shall appease
with a calm breath this flux of discontent.
Palme. To call them to a parley questionles
may fall out good · tis well said Maister Moore.
Moor. Letts to thes simple men for many sweat
vnder this act that knowes not the lawes debtt
which hangs vppon ther lives · for sillie men ·
plodd on they know not how · like a fooles penn
that ending showes not any sentence writt
linckt but to common reason or sleightest witt
thes follow for no harme but yett incurr
self penaltie with those that raisd this stirr
A gods name one to calme our privat foes
with breath of gravitie not dangerous blowes.
Exeunt.

44–7. Marked for omission, but a subsequent mark may be intended to make the omission begin at l. 45 only. The last four words of l. 45 are crossed out as well.

[Scene VI. The Gate of Saint Martin's-le-Grand.]

Enter Lincoln · Doll · Clown · Georg Betts Williamson others and a Sergaunt at Armes.

Lincolne. Peace heare me, he that will not see a red hearing at a Harry grote, butter at alevenpence a pounde, meale at nyne shillings a bushell and beeff at fower nobles a stone, lyst to me. Fol. 8*a*

Geo. Bett. Yt will come to that passe yf straingers be sufferd mark him.

Linco. Our countrie is a great eating country, argo they eate more in our countrey then they do in their owne.

Betts Clow. By a half penny loff a day troy waight.

Linc. They bring in straing rootes, which is meerly to the vndoing of poor prentizes, for whats a sorry parsnyp to a good hart.

William. Trash trash; they breed sore eyes and tis enough to infect the Cytty with the palsey.

Sc. vi. The initial direction is written by C immediately below the preceding scene. The next three pages of the manuscript, written by hand D (believed to be Shakespeare's), contain the revision of the earlier and larger portion of a scene, the end of which is preserved and left standing in the original text. C has again omitted Sherwin's name from the direction, and has likewise removed him from the text of the revision (see ll. 35, 39 below): he is addressed in the original ending (l. 183) though he has no part. This attempt to get rid of a minor but still important character can only be due to difficulties of casting and corroborates the evidence afforded by the occurrence of Goodall's name (fol. 13**a*) that the parts were actually assigned.

6. *Geo bett*] substituted by C for *other* of D.
11. *betts clow*] substituted by C for *other* of D.
15. *william*] substituted by C for *oth* of D.

Lin. Nay yt has infected yt with the palsey, for theise basterds of dung as you knowe they growe in dvng haue infected vs, and yt is our infeccion will make the Cytty shake which partly coms through the eating of parsnyps.

Clown · Betts. Trewe and pumpions togeather.

Seriant. What say you to the mercy of the king do you refuse yt.

Lin. You woold haue vs vppon thipp woold you no marry do we not, we accept of the kings mercy but wee will showe no mercy vppon the straingers.

Seriaunt. You ar the simplest things that euer stood in such a question.

Lin. How say you now prenty[sses] prentisses simple down with him.

All. Prentisses symple prentisses symple.

Enter the Lord Maier Surrey Shrewsbury [Palmer Cholmeley Moore.]

Maior. Hold in the kings name hold.

Surrey. Frends masters countrymen.

Mayer. Peace how peace I charg you keep the peace.

Shro. My masters countrymen.

Williamson. The noble Earle of Shrewsbury letts hear him.

23. *Clown · betts*] substituted by C for *o* of D.

24. *Seriant*] C prefixed *Enter* but he had already brought on the *sergaunt at armes* in his initial direction.

35. *maior*] substituted by C for *Sher*[*win*] of D, which is clearly an error, perhaps for *Shre*[*wsbury*].

39. *williamson*] substituted by C for *Sher*[*win*] of D, which was clearly intentional.

Ge. Betts. Weele heare the Earle of Surrey.
Linc. The Earle of Shrewsbury.
Betts. Weele heare both.
All. Both both both both.
Linc. Peace I say peace ar you men of wisdome or what ar you.
Surr. What you will haue them but not men of wisdome.
All. Weele not heare my Lord of Surrey, no no no no Shrewsbury Shr[ewsbury].
Moor. Whiles they ar ore the banck of their obedyenc
thus will they bere downe all things.
Linc. Shreiff Moor speakes shall we heare Shreef Moor speake.
Doll. Letts heare him a keepes a plentyfull shrevaltry, and a made my brother Arther Watchins Seriant Safes yeoman lets heare Shreeve Moore.
All. Shreiue Moor Moor More Shreue Moore.
Moor. Even by the rule you haue among your sealues
comand still audience.
All. Surrey Sury.
All. Moor Moor.
Lincolne Betts. Peace peace scilens peace.
Moor. You that haue voyce and credyt with the nvmber
comaund them to a stilnes.
Lincolne. A plaigue on them they will not hold their peace
the deule cannot rule them.

Fol. 8*b*

41. *Ge*] prefixed by C.
66–7. These lines are divided after *deule* in the manuscript.

Moor. Then what a rough and ryotous charge haue you
to leade those that the deule cannot rule
good masters heare me speake.
Doll. I byth mas will we Moor thart a good hows-
keeper and I thanck thy good worship for my
brother Arthur Watchins.
All. Peace peace.
Moor. Look what you do offend you cry vppon
that is the peace; not [on] of you heare present
had there such fellowes lyvd when you wer babes
that coold haue topt the peace, as nowe you woold
the peace wherin you haue till nowe growne vp
had bin tane from you, and the bloody tymes
coold not haue brought you to the state of men
alas poor things what is yt you haue gott
although we graunt you geat the thing you seeke.
Bett. Marry the removing of the straingers which
cannot choose but much advauntage the poor
handycraftes of the Cytty.
Moor. Graunt them remoued and graunt that this your
noyce
hath chidd downe all the maiestie of England
ymagin that you see the wretched straingers
their babyes at their backs, with their poor lugage
plodding tooth ports and costs for transportacion
and that you sytt as kings in your desyres
aucthoryty quyte sylenct by your braule
and you in ruff of your opynions clothd
what had you gott; Ile tell you, you had taught
how insolenc and strong hand shoold prevayle
how ordere shoold be quelld, and by this patterne
not on of you shoold lyve an aged man
for other ruffians as their fancies wrought

88. *maiestie*] D wrote *matie* without contraction mark.

with sealf same hand sealf reasons and sealf right
woold shark on you and men lyke revenous fishes
woold feed on on another.
Doll. Before god thats as trewe as the gospell.
Lincoln. Nay this a sound fellowe I tell you lets mark him.
Moor. Let me sett vp before your thoughts good freinds
on supposytion, which if you will marke
you shall perceaue howe horrible a shape
your ynnovation beres, first tis a sinn
which oft thappostle did forwarne vs of
vrging obedienc to aucthoryty
and twere no error yf I told you all
you wer in armes gainst g[od].
All. Marry god forbid that. Fol. 9a
Moo. Nay certainly you ar
for to the king god hath his offyc lent
of dread of iustyce, power and comaund
hath bid him rule, and willd you to obay
and to add ampler maiestie to this
he hath not only lent the king his figure
his throne and sword, but gyven him his owne name
calls him a god on earth, what do you then
rysing gainst him that god himsealf enstalls
but ryse gainst god, what do you to your sowles
in doing this o desperat as you are ·

102. It is impossible to be certain whether D intended 'on one another' or 'one on another.'
104. *lincoln*] substituted by C for *Betts* of D.
106. *moor*] supplied by C.
110–1, 112–3. Each pair is written as one line by D, thus completing the speech on the page.

wash your foule mynds with teares and those same hands
that you lyke rebells lyft against the peace
lift vp for peace, and your vnreuerent knees
make them your feet to kneele to be forgyven;
tell me but this what rebell captaine
as mutynes ar incident, by his name
can still the rout who will obay a traytor
or howe can well that proclamation sounde
when ther is no adicion but a rebell
to quallyfy a rebell, youle put downe straingers
kill them cutt their throts possesse their howses
and leade the maiestie of law in liom
to slipp him lyke a hound; say nowe the king
as he is clement, yf thoffendor moorne
shoold so much com to short of your great trespas
as but to banysh you, whether woold you go·
what country by the nature of your error
shoold gyve you harber go you to Fraunc or Flanders
to any Iarman province, Spane or Portigall
nay any where that not adheres to Ingland
why you must needs be straingers, woold you be pleasd
to find a nation of such barbarous temper
that breaking out in hiddious violence
woold not afoord you, an abode on earth
whett their detested knyves against your throtes
spurne you lyke doggs, and lyke as yf that god

130. *tell me but this*] Before these words, interlined by C, the equivalent of three lines has been crossed out by the same.
137. *maiestie*] D wrote *matie* without contraction mark.

owed not nor made not you, nor that the elaments
wer not all appropriat to your comforts ·
but charterd vnto them, what woold you thinck
to be thus vsd, this is the straingers case
and this your momtanish inhumanyty.

All. Fayth a saies trewe letts do as we may be doon by.

Linco. Weele be ruld by you Master Moor yf youle stand our freind to procure our pardon

Moor. Submyt you to theise noble gentlemen
entreate their mediation to the kinge
gyve vp yourselaf to forme obay the maiestrate
and thers no doubt, but mercy may be found
yf you so seek [yt].

All. We yeeld, and desire his highnesse mercie. Fol. 10

They lay by their weapons.

Moore. No doubt his maiestie will graunt it you
but you must yeeld to goe to seuerall prisons,
till that this highnesse will be further knowne.

All. Moste willingly, whether you will haue vs.

Shrew. Lord Maior, let them be sent to seuerall prisons,

156. *momtanish*] None of the proposed emendations, *mountanish, mawmtanish, moritanish,* is at all satisfactory.

157. D wrote *letts vs* and *vs* was crossed out, probably by C.

159. *Linco*] substituted by C for *all* repeated by D.

164–5. Written as one line by D in order to complete his revision on the page.

Fol. 9*b* is blank. The scene is continued in its original form and in Munday's hand on fol. 10*a*. There is a slight overlap, for the first three lines of the page (marked for omission) contain the end of More's original speech. They are in prose and run: 'To persist in it, is present death · but if you yeeld yourselues, no doubt, what punishment you (in simplicitie[)] haue incurred, his highnesse in mercie will moste graciously pardon.'

and there in any case, be well intreated.
My Lord of Surrie, please you to take horsse,
and ride to Cheapeside, where the Aldermen,
are with their seuerall companies in armes.
Will them to goe vnto their seuerall wardes,
bothe for the stay of further mutinie,
and for the apprehending of such persons:
as shall contend.

Sur. I goe my noble Lord. *Exit Surrey.*

Shrew. weele straite goe tell his highnesse these good newes.

Withall (Shreeue Moore) Ile tell him, how your breath:
hath ransomde many a subiect from sad death.
Exeunt Shrewsbury and Cholmeley.

L. Maior. Lincolne and Sherwine, you shall bothe to Newgate,
the rest vnto the Counters.

Pal. Goe, guarde them hence, a little breath well spent,
cheates expectation in his fairst euent.

Doll. Well Sheriffe Moore, thou hast doone more with thy good woordes, then all they could with their weapons: giue me thy hand, keepe thy promise now for the Kings pardon, or by the Lord Ile call thee a plaine conie catcher.

Lin. Farewell Shreeue Moore, and as we yeeld by thee
so make our peace, then thou dealst honestly.

Clo. I and saue vs from the gallowes eles a deales dobble. *They are led away.*

194–5. The Clown's speech is added by B in the margin.

L. Maior. Maister Shreeue Moore, you haue preseru'de the Cittie,
from a moste daungerous fierce commotion.
For if this limbe of riot heere in Saint Martins,
had ioynd with other braunches of the Cittie,
that did begin to kindle, twould haue bred,
great rage, that rage, much murder would haue fed.

Moore. My Lord, and bretheren, what I heere haue spoke,
my countries looue, and next, the Citties care:
enioynde me to, which since it thus preuailes,
thinke, God hath made weake Moore his instrument,
to thwart seditions violent intent.
I thinke twere best my Lord, some two houres hence,
we meete at the Guildehall, and there determine,
that thorow euery warde, the watche be clad
in armour, but especially prouide
that at the Cittie gates, selected men,
substantiall cittizens doo warde tonight,
for feare of further mischeife.

L. Maior. It shall be so.

Enter Shrewsbury.

201. After this two lines are marked for omission, the first assigned to *Pal*[*mer*], and the second to *Sh*[*rewsbury*], who left the stage l. 182, whence the deletion. They run: 'not Steele but eloquence hath wrought this good. | you haue redeemde vs from much threatned blood.'

But yond me thinks my Lord of Shrewesburie.

Shrew. My Lord, his maiestie sends loouing thankes,
to you, your bretheren, and his faithfull subiects
your carefull cittizens. But Maister Moore, to you,
a rougher, yet as kinde a salutation,
your name is yet too short, nay, you must kneele,
a knights creation is thys knightly steele.
Rise vp Sir Thomas Moore.

Moore. I thanke his highnesse for thus honoring me.

Shrew. This is but first taste of his princely fauour,
for it hath pleased his high maiestie,
(noating your wisedome and deseruing meritt,)
to put this staffe of honor in your hand,
for he hath chose you of his Priuie Councell.

Moore. My Lord, for to denye my Soueraignes bountie,
were to drop precious stones into the heapes
whence first they came,
to vrdge my imperfections in excuse,
were all as stale as custome. No my Lord,
my seruice is my Kings, good reason why:
since life and death hangs on our Soueraignes eye.

L. Maior. His maiestie hath honord much the Cittie
in this his princely choise.

Moore. My Lord and bretheren,
though I departe for.....my looue shall rest

230. The second half of this line 'from whence they'd nere returne,' has been crossed out with good reason.

.....

I now must sleepe in courte, sounde sleepes forbeare, Fol. 10*b*
the chamberlain to state is publique care.
Yet in this rising of my priuate blood:
my studious thoughts shall tend the Cities good.

Enter Croftes.

Shrew. How now Croftes? what newes?
Croftes. My Lord, his highnesse sends expresse commaunde,
that a record be entred of this riott,
and that the cheefe and capitall offendours
be theron straite arraignde, for himselfe intends
to sit in person on the rest to morrowe
at Westminster.
Shrew. Lord Maior, you heare your charge.
Come good Sir Thomas Moore, to court let's hye
you are th'appeaser of this mutinie.
Moore. My Lord farewell, new dayes begets new tides
life whirles bout fate, then to a graue it slydes.

Exeunt seuerally.

[Scene VII. Cheapside.]

Enter Maister Sheriffe, and meete a Messenger.

Sheriff. Messenger, what newes?
Mess. Is execution yet performde?
Sheriff. Not yet, the cartes stand readie at the stayres,
and they shall presently away to Tibourne.
Messe. Stay Maister Shreeue, it is the Councelles pleasure,

Sc. vii. Part of the original text in Munday's hand.

for more example in so bad a case,
a Iibbit be erected in Cheapside,
hard by the standerd, whether you must bring
Lincolne, and those that were the cheefe with him,
to suffer death, and that immediatly.

Enter Officers.

Sheriff. It shalbe doone Sir. (*exit Messenger.*) Officers, be speedie
call for a Iibbit, see it be erected,
others make haste to Newgate, bid them bring,
the prisoners hether, for they heere must dye,
Away I say, and see no time be slackt.

Off. We goe Sir.

Sheriff. Thats well said fellowes, now you doo your dutie.

Exeunt some seuerally, others set vp the Iibbit.

God for his pittie help these troublous times.
The streetes stopte vp with gazing multitudes,
commaund our armed officers with halberds,
make way for entraunce of the prisoners.
Let proclamation once againe be made,
that euery housholder, on paine of deathe
keep in his prentises, and euery man,
stand with a weapon readie at his doore,
as he will answere to the contrary.

Off. Ile see it doone Sir. *Exit.*

Enter another Officer.

Sheriffe. Bring them away to execution,
the writt is come abooue two houres since,
the Cittie will be fynde for this neglect.

17–30. Marked for omission.

Off. Thers such a preasse and multitude at Newgate,
they cannot bring the cartes vnto the stayres
to take the prisoners in.
Sheriff. Then let them come on foote,
we may not dally time with great commaund.
Off. Some of the Benche Sir, thinke it very fit
that stay be made, and giue it out abroade
the execution is deferd till morning,
and when the streetes shall be a little cleerd,
to chaine them vp, and suddenly dispatch it.
Sheriff. Stay, in meane time me thinkes they come along.

The Prisoners are brought in well guarded.

See, they are comming, so, tis very well.
Bring Lincolne there the first vnto the tree.
Clo. I for I cry lag Sir.
Lin. I knewe the first Sir, did belong to me.
This the olde prouerbe now compleate dooth make,
that Lincolne should be hangd for Londons sake.
A Gods name, lets to woorke: (*he goes vp.*)
fellowe, dispatche,
I was the formoste man in this rebellion
and I the formoste that must dye for it.
Doll. Brauely Iohn Lincolne, let thy death expresse,
that as thou liu'dst a man, thou dyedst no lesse.
Lin. Doll Williamson, thine eyes shall witnesse it.
Then to all you that come to viewe mine end,
I must confesse, I had no ill intent,
but against such as wrongd vs ouer much.

43. Added by B in the margin.

And now I can perceiue, it was not fit,
that priuate men should carue out their redresse,
which way they list, no, learne it now by me
obedience is the best in eche degree.
And asking mercie meekely of my King,
I paciently submit me to the lawe.
But God forgiue them that were cause of it ·
and as a Christian, truely from my hart:
I likewise craue they would forgiue me too.
.....
that others by example of the same Fol. 11*a*
hencefoorth be warned to attempt the like
gainst any alien that repaireth hether
fare ye well all, the next time that we meete
I trust in heauen we shall eche other greete.
He leapes off.

Doll. Farewell Iohn Lincoln, say all what they can:
thou liu'dst a good fellowe, and dyedst an honest man.

Clo. Wold I weare so farre on my iurney the first stretche is the worste me thinks.

Sheriff. Bring Williamson there forwarde.

Doll. Good Maister Shreeue, I haue an earnest suite,
and as you are a man deny't me not.

Sheriff. Woman, what is it? be it in my power,
thou shalt obtayne it.

Doll. Let me dye next Sir, that is all I craue,
you knowe not what a comforte you shall bring
to my poore hart to dye before my husband.

Sheriff. Bring her to death, she shall haue her desire.

73–4. Added by B in the margin.

Clo. Sir and I haue a suite to you too.
[*Sheriff.*] What is ytt.
[*Clo.*] That as you haue hangd Lincolne first and will hange hir nexte so you will nott hange me at all.
[*Sheriff.*] Naye you set ope the counter gates and you must hange [for] the folye.
[*Clo.*] Well then so much for that.
Doll. Sir, your free bountie much contents my minde,
commend me to that good Shreeue Maister Moore,
and tell him had't not bin for his perswasion,
Iohn Lincolne had not hung heere as he does ·
we would first haue [bin] lockt vp in Leaden-hall,
and there bin burnt to ashes with the roofe.
Sheriff. Woman, what Maister Moore did, was a subiects dutie,
and hath so pleasde our gracious Lord the King,
that he is hence remoou'de to higher place,
and made of Councell to his Maiestie.
Doll. Well is he woorthie of it by my troth,
an honest, wise, well spoken gentleman,
yet would I praise his honestie much more,
if he had kept his woord, and sau'de our liues,
but let that passe, men are but men, and so,
woords are but wordes, and payes not what men owe.
Now husband, since perhaps the world may say,

84–91. Added by B in the margin, the first speaker only being indicated.

that through my meanes thou comste thus to thy end:
heere I beginne this cuppe of death to thee,
because thou shalt be sure to taste no wursse,
then I haue taken, that must goe before thee.
What though I be a woman, thats no matter,
I doo owe God a death, and I must pay him.
Husband, giue me thy hand, be not dismayed,
this charre beeing charde, then all our debt is payd.
Only two little babes we leaue behinde vs,
and all I can bequeathe them at this time,
is but the looue of some good honest freend:
to bring them vp in charitable sorte.
What maisters, he goes vpright that neuer haltes,
and they may liue to mend their parents faultes.

Will. Why well sayd wife, yfaith thou cheerst my hart,
giue me thy hand, lets kisse, and so lets part.

He kisses her on the ladder.

Doll. The next kisse Williamson, shalbe in heauen.
Now cheerely lads, George Bets, a hand with thee,
and thine too Rafe, and thine good honest Sherwin.
Now let me tell the women of this towne,
No straunger yet brought Doll to lying downe.
So long as I an Englishman can see,
Nor Frenche nor Dutche shall get a kisse of me.
And when that I am dead, for me yet say,
I dyed in scorne to be a straungers preye.

A great shout and noise.

(*within.*) Pardon, pardon, pardon, pardon
roome for the Ea[r]le of Surrey, roome there roome.

Enter Surrey.

Sur. Saue the mans life, if it be possible.
Sheriff. It is too late my Lord, hees dead alreadie.
Sur. I tell ye Maister Sheriffe, you are too forwarde,
to make such haste with men vnto their death,
I thinke your paines will merit little thankes
since that his highnesse is so mercifull,
as not to spill the blood of any subiect.
Sheriff. My noble Lord, would we so much had knowen,
the Councelles warrant hastened our dispatche,
it had not else bin doone so suddenly.
Sur. Sir Thomas Moore humbly vppon his knee,
did begge the liues of all, since on his woord
they did so gently yeeld. The King hath graunted it,
and made him Lord High Chauncellour of England,
according as he woorthily deserues.
Since Lincolnes life cannot be had againe,
then for the rest, from my dread Soueraignes lippes,
I heere pronounce free pardon for them all.
All (*flinging vp cappes*). God saue the King, God saue the King,
my good Lord Chauncellour and the Earle of Surrey.
Doll. And doll desires it from her very hart,
Moores name may liue for this right noble part.

And whensoere we talke of ill May day:
praise Moore [whose]..... 159
Sur. In hope his highnesse clemencie and mercie, Fol. 11*b*
which in the armes of milde and meeke compassion
would rather clip you, as the loouing nursse
oft dooth the wayward infant, then to leaue you,
to the sharp rodd of iustice so to drawe you,
to shun such lewde assemblies, as beget
vnlawfull riots and such trayterous acts,
that striking with the hand of priuate hate,
maime your deare countrie with a publique wounde.
Oh God, that mercie, whose maiestick browe,
should be vnwrinckled, and that awefull iustice, 170
which looketh through a vaile of sufferaunce
vppon the frailtie of the multitude
should with the clamours of outragious wrongs,
be stird and wakened thus to punishment.
But your deserued death he dooth forgiue,
who giues you life, pray all he long may liue.
All. God saue the King, God saue the King,
my good Lord Chauncellour and the Earle of
Surrey. *Exeunt.*

[The End.]

170–4. Marked for omission. It is not obvious why these fine lines should have been condemned.

Appendix

[The following is the beginning of the original fifth scene, between the Prentices in Cheapside, as preserved in Munday's hand at the foot of fol. 5*b*. It is marked for omission and was cancelled altogether in revision, the scene at the Guildhall being presumably substituted in its place.]

Enter three or foure Prentises of trades, with a paire of cudgelles.

Harry. Come, lay downe the cudgelles.—Hoh Robin, you met vs well at Bunhill, to haue you with vs a Mayng this morning?

Robin. Faith Harrie, the head drawer at the Miter by the great conduite, calld me vp, and we went to breakefast into Saint Annes lane. But come, who beginnes? In good faith I am cleane out of practise: when wast at Garrets schoole Harrie?

Har. Not this great while, neuer since I brake his vshers head, when he plaid his schollers prize at the Starre in Bread streete, I vse all to George Philpots at Dowgate, hees the best backsworde man in England.

Kit. Bate me an ace of that, quoth Bolton.

Har. Ile not bate ye a pinne on't Sir, for, by this cudgell tis true.

Kit. I will cudgell that oppinion out of ye: did you breake an vshers head Sir?

Har. I marie did I Sir.

Kit. I am very glad on't, you shall breake mine too and ye can.

Har. Sirra, I pre thee what art thou?
Kit. Why, I am a prentise as thou art, seest thou now:
Ile play with thee at blunt heere in Cheapeside,
and when thou hast doone, if thou beest angrie,
Ile fight with thee at [sharp] in Moorefeildes
I haue a swoord to serue my turne in a fauor...
.....
come Iulie, to serue .....
..... 30

VII. SPECIAL TRANSCRIPT OF THE THREE PAGES

THE three pages of the Harleian manuscript written in hand D have twice already been reproduced in type-facsimile, first as part of the Malone Society's edition of the play (M), and later in Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's book on *Shakespeare's Handwriting* (T). In making yet another essay faithfully to interpret the sometimes obscure original for the use of modern readers, I have, of course, availed myself to the full of previous attempts. If the three prints are compared they will be found to differ in a number of details, which fall into several distinct groups. (i) Sir Edward's minute study of the manuscript, and the fact that, at his suggestion, the second page was relieved of its covering of tracing-paper, enabled him to correct certain happily small errors of M. These corrections were silently made and have been silently incorporated in the present text. (ii) I have also in general followed T in those details of capitalization and punctuation which must be classed as matters of opinion. (iii) Further, I have gladly availed myself of the readings of T in passages which were marked as indecipherable in M, though a fresh examination of the original has not always enabled me to distinguish quite as much as Sir Edward, and I have felt bound to record an occasional doubt in the notes. (iv) There are a few unquestionable errors (one serious) common to M and T, which I have, of course, taken the opportunity of correcting, at the same time as (v) two or three trifling slips in T, though in no case have I ventured to depart from Sir Edward's readings without recording the fact in the notes. (vi) Lastly there are two important readings which, since they cannot be conveniently dealt with in the foot-notes, are reserved for separate consideration at the end.

The few words or letters that have been irretrievably lost

or yet remain undeciphered have been supplied conjecturally within brackets. In doing so Dyce's readings, in so far as he purported to be reproducing the original, have been adopted, though it must be admitted that the minuter examination of the obscurities now possible rather tends to shake one's confidence in his powers of decipherment.

I have aimed at preserving, so far as is possible in type, the arrangement and general appearance of the original. All words written by a hand other than D (in every case I believe by C) are distinguished by heavier type. Where deletions occur in conjunction with these insertions they are to be taken as the work of the same corrector: all other deletions are by D unless the contrary is stated in the notes.

It may be well to add that the present text has been printed from an independent transcript made from the excellent facsimiles in Sir Edward's book, so far as these are legible, and carefully collated with M and T, while on every point of possible doubt the original at the British Museum has been examined.

The author wrote the text, at any rate of the first two pages, continuously, dividing the speeches by rules but without indicating the speakers. He then read it through, inserting the prefixes and at the same time making certain additions to the text, namely, some words at the beginning of l. 22, at the end of l. 38, and the whole of l. 45. The most natural explanation of the crowding of the text at the foot of the second page is that the writer had no more paper at hand, and that the third page was composed on a subsequent occasion; a supposition borne out by a marked difference in the general style of the handwriting. The addition of the speakers' names was certainly perfunctory, especially on the first page, but, apart from the unsatisfactory condition of the deleted passage on the third, I do not find any evidence of haste or carelessness in the composition.

Lincolne — Peace heare me, he that will not ſee [a red] hearing at a harry grote, butter at a levenpence a pou[nde, meale at] nyne ſhillinge a Buſhell and Beeff at fower nob[les a ſtone, lyſ]t to me — Fol. 8a

~~other~~ Geo bett — yt will Come to that paſſe yf ſtrain[gers be ſu]fferd mark him

Linco — our Countrie is a great eating Country, argo they eate more in our Countrey then they do in their owne

~~other~~ betts clow — by a half penny loff a day troy waight

Linc — they bring in ſtraing rootes, which is meerly to the vndoing of poor prentizes, for whate ~~a watrie~~ a ſorry ꝑſnyp to a good hart

~~oth~~ william — traſh traſh, : they breed ſore eyes and tis enough to infect the Cytty wt the palſey

Lin — nay yt has infected yt wt the palſey, for theiſe baſterde of dung as you knowe they growe in Dvng haue infected vs, and yt is our infeccion will make the Cytty ſhake which ꝑtly Coms through the eating of ꝑſnyps

-o- Clown · betts trewe and pumpions togeather

Enter

ſeriant what ſay you to the mercy of the king do you refuſe yt

Lin you woold haue [vs] vppon thipp woold you no marry do we not, we accept of the kinge mercy but wee will ſhowe no mercy vppõ the ſtraingers 20

ſeriaunt you ar the ſimpleſt thinge that eũ ſtood in ſuch a queſtion

now prenty

Lin how ſay you prentiſſes ſymple downe w^th him

3 *Beeff*] the first *e* has been altered from some other letter. 5 *Linco*] *in* has two minims only but the first is dotted. 8 *of*] the final curl of the *f* has been carried round in such a way as to resemble *o* 10 *william*] *m* has two minims only. *traſh,:*] so T, but the lower dot may be accidental: M prints a semi-colon. 12 *dung*] *un* has five minims. 17 The initial letter of the speaker's name, whether it be regarded as minuscule (T) or majuscule (M), is certainly of an Italian type. 18 *haue*] T *have* perhaps by an accidental slip; the word occurs elsewhere eight times always spelt *haue*, Dyce read *haue* here, and the very obscure original seems to me to have *u* rather than *v* 19 *ſhowe*] *w* blotted, possibly altered. 22 The marginal and interlined words were added later. *prenty*] *n* is represented by one minim only, and *y* is doubtful.

all — prentiſles ſymple prentiſles ſymple

Enter the L maier Surrey

Shrewſbury

~~Sher~~ **Maior** — hold in the kinge name hold

Surrey — frende maſters Countrymen

mayer — peace how peace J ~~ſh~~ Charg you keep the peace

Shro· — my maſters Countrymen

~~Sher~~ **Williamson** — The noble Earle of Shrewſbury lette hear him

Ge bette — weele heare the Earle of Surrey

Linc — the earle of Shrewſbury

bette — weele heare both

all — both both both both

Linc Peace J ſay peace ar yo^{u} men of Wiſdome ~~ar~~ or what ar yo^{u}

Surr ~~But~~ what yo^{u} will haue them but not men of wiſdome

all weele not heare my L of Surrey, ~~all~~ no no no no no Shrewſbury ſhr

moor whiles they ar ore the banck of their obedyenc
thus will they bere downe all thinge

Linc Shreiff moor ſpeakes ſhall we heare ſhreef moor ſpeake

Doll Lette heare him a keepes a plentyfull ſhrevaltry, and a made my

26 *Sher*] this must be a slip for *Shre* 27 The rule has been accidentally omitted after this line. 29 *Shro·*] the last letter certainly seems to be *o* but D always writes *Shrewſbury* elsewhere. 30 C wrote his alteration on the top of D's original. 30, 32 *Shrewſbury*] M, T *Shrowsbury* 38 *all no... ſhr*] added later; the deletion is probably by C. *Shrewſbury*] so M: T *Shrowsbury* (the letter is indistinguishable). 40 *thinge*] I am unable to read the end of this word. 42 *ſhrevaltry,*] so M: T *shrevaltry*. but it is clearly a comma I think.

Brother Arther watchin[s] Seriant Safes yeoman letꝭ heare
ſhreeve moore

all — Shreiue moor moor more Shreue moore

moor — [ev]en by the rule you haue among yor ſealues
Comand ſtill audience

all — [S]urrey Sury

all — moor moor

Lincolne bettꝭ — peace peace ſcilens peace

moor — You that haue voyce and Credyt wt the ~~mv~~ nvmber
Comaund them to a ſtilnes

Lincolne — a plaigue on them they will not hold their peace the deule
Cannot rule them

moor — Then what a rough and ryotous charge haue you

to Leade thoſe that the deule Cannot rule
good maſters heare me ſpeake

Doll — J byth mas will we moor thart a good howſkeeper and J thanck thy good worſhip for my Brother Arthur watchins

all — peace peace

moor — look what you do offend you Cry vppõ
that is the peace; not [on] of you heare preſent
had there ſuch fellowes lyvd when you wer babes
that coold haue topt the peace, as nowe you woold
the peace wherin you haue till nowe growne vp
had bin tane from you, and the bloody tymes
coold not haue brought you to ~~theiſe~~ the ſtate of men
alas poor thinge what is yt you haue gott
although we graunt you geat the thing you ſeeke

43 *Safes*] *af* seems to me to have disappeared entirely except perhaps for the extreme tail of the *f*. *yeoman*] *o* altered, probably by C, from some other small letter. 45 This line with the rule above it was added later. 59 *watchins*] *c* altered, apparently from the beginning of *h*

~~D~~Bett marry the removing of the ſtraingers w^{ch} cannot chooſe but much ~~helpe~~ advauntage the poor handycraftes of the Cytty

moor graunt them remoued and graunt that this yo^{r} ~~y~~ noyce
hath Chidd downe all the matie of Jngland
ymagin that yo^{u} ſee the wretched ſtraingers
their babyes at their backe, ~~and~~ their poor lugage
plodding tooth porte and coſte for tranſportacion
and that yo^{u} ſytt as kinge in your deſyres
aucthoryty quyte ſylenct by yo^{r} braule
and yo^{u} in ruff of yo^{r} ~~yo~~ opynions clothd
what had yo^{u} gott; Jle tell yo^{u}, yo^{u} had taught
how inſolenc and ſtrong hand ſhoold prevayle
how orderd ſhoold be quelld, and by this patterne
not on of yo^{u} ſhoold lyve an aged man
for other ruffians as their fancies wrought
wth ſealf ſame hand ſealf reaſons and ſealf right
woold ſhark on yo^{u} and men lyke ravenous fiſhes

woold feed on on another

Doll — before god that᷑ as trewe as the goſpell

Bett᷑ lincoln — nay this a ſound fellowe J tell yo[u] lets mark him

moor — Let me ſett vp before yo[r] thoughts good freind᷑ 90
on ſuppoſytion, which if yo[u] will marke
yo[u] ſhall p̄ceaue howe horrible a ſhape
your ynnovation beres, firſt tis a ſinn
which oft thappoſtle did forwarne vs of vrging obedienc to aucthory[ty]
and twere ~~in~~ no error yf J told yo[u] all yo[u] wer in armes gainſt g[od] 95

70 The *D* appears to have been crossed out by both D and C. 71 *handycraftes*] the *e* is represented only by a small blot between *t* and *s* 72 *noyce*] *y* altered from *w* 73 *matie*] sic, by a slip from *maïe* i.e. *maieſtie* (cf. l. 121). 75 *and* was crossed out, and *w[t]* interlined to replace it, by D. Neither M nor T notices the alteration. 80 *gott;*] so T: M prints a comma, but the original seems to have ·,· 82 *orderd*] so T: M *ordere*: doubtful, but in either case an error for *order* 85 *hand*] there is a very small dot after this word, some stop may possibly be intended. 89 *lincoln*] so M: T *Lincoln* (perhaps a slip). 93 *your*] M, T *yo[r]* but the reading though indistinct is hardly open to question. 94 *vrging*] so M: T *urging* (an accidental slip).

all marry god forbid that

---

moo nay certainly you ar
for to the king god hath his offyc lent
of dread of Juſtyce, power and Comaund
hath bid him rule, and willd you to obay
and to add ampler mañie to this
he ~~god~~ hath not ~~le~~ only lent the king his figure
&
his throne ~~his~~ ſword, but gyven him his owne name
calls him a god on earth, what do you then
ryſing gainſt him that god himſealf enſtalls
but ryſe gainſt god, what do you to yor ſowles
in doing this o deſperat ~~ar~~ as you are·
waſh your foule mynds wt teares and thoſe ſame handꝭ
that you lyke rebells lyft againſt the peace
lift vp for peace, and your vnreuerent knees
~~that~~ make them your feet to kneele to be forgyven
~~is ſafer warrs, then euer you can make~~

~~in in to yor obedicne~~·
~~whofe difcipline is ryot~~; ~~why euen yor warrs hurly~~
tell me but this
~~cannot ꝑceed but by obediene~~ what rebell captaine
n
as mutyes ar incident, by his name
can ſtill the rout who will obay ~~th~~ a traytor
or howe can well that ꝑclamation ſounde
when ther is no adicion but a rebell
to quallyfy a rebell, youle put downe ſtraingers

115

101 *and*] *n* has three minims. 102 *only*] so M: T *souly* (withdrawn; see above, p. 76, note). 103 *his* (deleted)] so M: T *hys* (withdrawn; see above, p. 76, note). The & is really written on the top of *his* not between the lines. 110 *and*] for an attempted alteration see final note. 111 There is a slightly wider space after *feet* and a break may have been intended as in l. 95. *to kneele*] so M: T *fo kneele* (an accidental misprint due to a broken letter). 112–4 With the exception of the single word *warrs* (which he crossed out, adding *hurly* in its place) these lines were left standing by D. All the other deletions are in darker ink, presumably by C, who added the interlined words in the third line. 113 *warrs*] so M: T *warre* altered to *warrs* (see final note). *obedienc·*] T omits the stop, but I do not think that the mark can be accidental. 117 *ſounde*] *un* has three minims only. 118 *ther*] *r* altered from *ir*.

kill them cutt their throts poſſeſſe their howſes
and leade the matie of lawe in liom
~~alas alas~~
to ſlipp him lyke a hound; ~~fayeng~~ ſay nowe the king
as he is clement,. yf thoffendor moorne
ſhoold ſo much com to ſhort of your great treſpas
as but to banyſh yo^{u}, whether woold yo^{u} go·
what Country by the nature of yo^{r} error
ſhoold gyve you harber go yo^{u} to ffraunc or flanders
to any Jarman ꝑvince, ~~to~~ ſpane or portigall
nay any where ~~why yo^{u}~~ that not adheres to Jngland
why yo^{u} muſt needꝭ be ſtraingers, woold yo^{u} be pleaſd
to find a nation of ſuch barbarous temper
that breaking out in hiddious violence
woold not afoord yo^{u}, an abode on earth
whett their deteſted knyves againſt yo^{r} throtes
ſpurne yo^{u} lyke doggꝭ, and lyke as yf that god
owed not nor made not yo^{u}, nor that the elementꝭ

yo^{r}

wer not all appropriat to ~~their~~ Comforte·
but Charterd vnto them, what woold yo^{u} thinck
to be thus vſd, this is the ſtraingers caſe
all and this your momtaniſh inhumanyty 140

---

fayth a ſaies trewe letts ~~vs~~ do as we may be doon by

---

121 *matie*] contraction mark omitted as in l. 73. 122 *ſayeng*] M, T *saying* but there is no doubt of the reading. The substituted words, interlined by D, were deleted by C. 123 *clement,*.] M, T print a comma only, but there seems clearly to be a point after it. 125 The writing avoids a small hole in the paper. 127 *ſlanders*] the *r* is malformed. 130 *ſtraingers,*] T's comma is better than M's point, but the mark may be accidental. 131 *barbarous*] second *r* altered from *b* (not from *k* as T suggests). 136 *elamente*] T adds a comma but the mark is in the paper only. 137 *their*] M, T *ther* but there is little doubt of the reading. 140 *all*] belongs properly to the next line where T prints it. *momtaniſh*] T *mountanish* noting '*un* only three minims': the writer's intention is quite obscure. *inhumanyty*] so M: T adds a point but it appears to be no more than a flick of the tail of *y* 141 *vs*] M and T both describe the deletion as being in modern ink, but on re-examination I am unable to distinguish it from that of other deletions and therefore ascribe it to C. The writer probably intended *lett vs* but forgot to cross out the *s*

~~all~~ Linco

weele be ruld by yo^{u} maſter moor yf youle ſtand our
freind to ꝑcure our ꝑdon

---

moor

Submyt yo^{u} to theiſe noble gentlemen
entreate their mediation to the kinge
gyve vp yo^{r} ſealf to forme obay the maieſtrate
and thers no doubt, but mercy may be found yf yo^{u} ſo ſeek [yt]

147 *found*] *un* has three minims only. *yo^{u}*] *o^{u}* malformed. *yt*] M *it*: T omits. D certainly wrote something after *seek* and the addition seems to me to improve the sense. The visible traces can be read *yt* (hardly *it*), but at the same time they are rather widely separated from the preceding word, and it is possible that they represent an & or some other sign indicating that the original text was to resume at this point.

FINAL NOTE ON CERTAIN READINGS IN Ll. 103–14.

103 *his* (deleted)] The curious symbol superimposed on this word has certainly not the form of the & usual in English hands. It may, however, I think, be a loose attempt at rendering the print form of ampersand, which though rare is not unknown in manuscripts of the period. Since the ink in which the symbol is written is identical with that of the original writing, it seems unlikely that a second hand is involved in the alteration. This also applies to the contraction mark of *mãie* in l. 101.

110 *and your*] T notes: 'a word was underlined for insertion between these two words, but it appears to have been wiped out while the ink was still wet. The traces of the letters seem to suggest *bend*.' It appears that *and* was crossed out and the word, whatever it was, interlined to replace it. But the whole alteration, which was probably never completed, has been erased. The traces are very illegible, but to me they suggest the letters *hye* rather than *bend*.

113 *warrs*] T *warre* noting that the writer 'altered *warre* to *warrs* by interlining a long *s*.' I am not myself able to detect any indication of a final *e*, and believe the supposed *ſ* to be the upward curl of the regular English final *s*.

112–4 In these difficult lines, if the original writer intended the interlined words *in in to yo*^{r} *obedienc·* as a substitute for the two half-lines *why euen...by obedienc* (as has been suggested) one would have expected him to delete the latter. But, with the substitution of *hurly* for *warrs* he left the passage as it was, and must, I think, have meant it to stand. I conjecture that a stop was intended after *feet* in l. 111, and that *in in to yo*^{r} *obedienc·* should be inserted between *ryot;* and *why*. The whole passage is clumsy but I no longer think, as I was once inclined to do, that the author was conscious of having left it in confusion.

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